National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form

This form is used for documenting property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in National Register Bulletin *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (formerly 16B). Complete each item by entering the requested information.

___X___ New Submission   _____ Amended Submission

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

The Negro Traveler's Green Book in Virginia: Race, Space, and Mobility

B. Associated Historic Contexts
(Name each associated historic context, identifying theme, geographical area, and chronological period for each.)

The Negro Traveler's Green Book in Virginia: Race, Space, and Mobility

C. Form Prepared by:
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D. Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements 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 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation.

_____   _____   _____

Signature of certifying official   **Title**   **Date**

Virginia Department of Historic Resources
State or Federal Agency or Tribal government

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**

Table of Contents for Written Narrative

Create a Table of Contents and list the page numbers for each of these sections in the space below.

Provide narrative explanations for each of these sections on continuation sheets. In the header of each section, cite the letter, page number, and name of the multiple property listing. Refer to *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* for additional guidance.

E. Statement of Historic Contexts

Introduction

This material is based upon work assisted by a grant from the Department of the Interior, National Park Service. Any opinions, findings, and conclusions or recommendations expressed in this material are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the view of the Department of the Interior or the National Park Service.

In Virginia, approximately 304 places were listed in *The Negro Traveler's Green Book* (hereafter, *The Green Book)* between 1936-1966. Of these, approximately 58 have been identified as still extant in a 2024 survey. The story of how *The Green Book* came to be, its purpose as a guide used for thirty years by Black individuals and groups to travel safely across Virginia, and the reasons it ceased being published are rooted in Virginia's earliest years as an English colony. The racialization of physical space in Virginia began during the colony's first decade. Between 1609-1614, the English newcomers waged war against the native inhabitants of Tsenacomoco, homeland of the Powhatan Confederation, which included the coastal area where the tiny Jamestown settlement was erected in 1607. Upon the 1619 arrival of the first enslaved Africans in the Virginia colony, the colonial leadership understood quickly that the work of enslaved people could generate profits for a select few more quickly and of greater value than a paid workforce composed of free people and indentured servants. Over the next eighty years, the leading colonists and colonial governors, along with the English Crown, developed a legal and social framework to justify the exclusion of Native peoples from the expanding colony while simultaneously creating a system of heritable enslaved status for people forcibly transported to Virginia from Africa and for their matrilineal descendants. With few substantive changes, this three-part system endured for more than 160 years, even through the rupture of the American Revolution (1775-1783) that resulted in the founding of the United States of America.[1]

The U.S. Civil War (1861-1865) ended heritable slavery for persons of African lineage and, for a brief period during the Reconstruction Era, it seemed that Black Virginians had been recognized as citizens of equal stature to White Virginians. An early indicator that their progress was disputed came in 1870 with the new state constitution that allowed Virginia to reenter the United States. Among its provisions was the creation of the Commonwealth's first statewide public school system, a major step toward improving life for ordinary Virginians, but hobbled by a subsequent stipulation that public schools must be racially segregated. Following the 1877 departure of Federal troops from Virginia and the other slave-holding states that had briefly comprised the Confederate States of America, White supremacists colluded to begin breaking down the legal protections established by the ratification of the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments to the U.S. Constitution. A complicit U.S. Supreme Court hastened their progress, culminating with the 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* legal decision that enshrined the doctrine of "separate but equal" in American jurisprudence and allowed laws based on this doctrine to be embedded in federal, state, and local laws across the country. The resultant legal framework was dubbed "Jim Crow" segregation by later scholars. In 1902, Virginia's political elites created a new state constitution that was based upon "separate but equal" legal provisions and disenfranchised

virtually all of the Commonwealth's African American residents and a substantial percentage of lower-income White residents.

From the 1890s through the mid-1960s, the segregation and disenfranchisement laws known as "Jim Crow" served as a cudgel to force African Americans to forego their rights as American citizens and created a formal, codified system of racial apartheid that dominated the American South, but not without opposition. Despite discriminatory employment, lending, civil, legal, political, and other practices made possible by Jim Crow, Black Virginians established their own communities with Black-owned businesses, newspapers, churches, cemeteries, fraternal and mutual aid societies, and real estate. During the first decades of the twentieth century, the gradual ascension of a prosperous middle class of African Americans, coupled with the introduction of personal automobiles, created opportunities for personal mobility with heretofore unprecedented flexibility by the 1930s. Due to segregation and an accompanying, ever-present possibility for violence by White individuals and institutions against Black people, however, mobility for Virginia's Black residents continued to be fraught. Similar circumstances existed throughout the American South and many other parts of the country.

In response to the need for promulgating methods for safe travel, Victor Hugo Green and Alma Green published *The Negro Traveler's Green Book* (hereafter, *The Green Book)* from 1936-1966.[2] Through meticulous research, the Greens compiled lists of businesses that would serve Black travelers, including restaurants, gas and service stations, and various types of lodging, such as motels, hotels, and tourist homes. From a relatively slim volume primarily focused on their native New York City in 1936, the Greens grew *The Green Book* to a nationwide publication that, together with road maps, provided Black Americans with the ability to navigate unfamiliar landscapes to reach the places where they would be welcomed, provided food and rest, and given the opportunity to refuel their car to resume their travels.

The need for such a guide to allow American citizens to navigate the terrain of the United States, heralded worldwide since the end of World War I in 1918 as a place of freedom and opportunity, strikes a discordant note to many people today. The guide's continued use, across three decades that included the Allied victory over the fascist empires of World War II and the onset of the Cold War, is similarly shocking to today's audiences. Within the context of 340 years of racialized landscapes in Virginia, however, *The Green Book* represented the pinnacle of centuries-long efforts by African Americans to move through Virginia without threat to their wellbeing.

As explained below, the historic context of space and mobility in Virginia was racialized in significant ways from 1619 to c. 1966. The legal frameworks and justifications for separation of the races that began during the Virginia colony's earliest years were embroidered upon for centuries thereafter and shaped the Commonwealth's cultural landscapes and built environments, as well as how people moved within and among them, throughout that roughly 350-year span. Without these precedents, *The Green Book* need not have existed. Therefore, this multiple property documentation form (MPD) includes a broad summary of how space and mobility were racialized in Virginia from the colonial era through numerous iterations up to the 1960s triumphs of the long Civil Rights Movement. Also summarized are the experiences of African American travelers during the early-to-mid twentieth century, the development and publishing of *The Green Book* by Victor Hugo Green and Alma Green, and the places in Virginia that are

associated with this aspect of automobile-based travel during the mid-20th century. In Section F, the resource types associated with the overall historic context and with *The Green Book's* 1936-1966 period of publication are described briefly. Register Eligibility Criteria applicable to each property type are identified, along with the registration requirements according to which a property may be nominated under this MPD for listing in the Virginia Landmarks Register and the National Register of Historic Places. Each property type is directly linked to *The Green Book* by way of listing in one or more editions of the guide. This MPD may be updated at a later time to include additional historical topics and/or resource types associated with the context herein.

The Negro Traveler's Green Book in Virginia: Race, Space, and Mobility

The broad themes identified and discussed in the following historic context are based on the patterns of events described in the documentary *Driving While Black: Race, Space, and Mobility in America*, a 2020 documentary film directed by Ric Burns and Gretchen Sorin, and based on Sorin's 2020 book, *Driving While Black: African American Travel and the Road to Civil Rights* (New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, a division of W.W. Norton & Company, 2020).

Virginia's Colonial Era and the Process of Racializing Landscapes

In Virginia, the movement of individuals and groups of people through space began to be racialized during the early colonial era. By the early 17th century, the place now known as Virginia was occupied by native peoples from three major cultural groups who came to be identified by Europeans according to their language group: Algonquian, Iroquoian, and Siouan. The tribes of Tscenacomoco were among the Algonquian, while the Monacan, who resided west of the fall line in the Piedmont, were Siouan, and tribal groups who were part of the Iroquoian resided in the mountainous interior. English colonists who reached present-day Virginia's shores in 1607 landed in Tsenacomoco, an indigenous territory with origins dating to circa AD 900 that encompassed approximately 16,000 square miles of Tidewater land by 1607. This vast area was controlled by a confederation of about 30 tribes comprising approximately 25,000 people led by their paramount chief, Powhatan (ca. 1550-1610). The colonists and the peoples of Tsenacomoco clashed three times in what are known as the First, Second, and Third Anglo-Powhatan Wars (1609-1614, 1622-1632, and 1644-1646, respectively). In 1619, the first enslaved Africans arrived at Point Comfort (in present-day Hampton) after English privateers had seized the individuals from a Portuguese ship.

Within this multi-ethnic environment, charged as it was with fluctuations between hostility and cooperation, the English colonial government and a cadre of colonial elites began to formulate a racialized legal and social framework to control the movements of people within and among different types of physical spaces. Methods of social, political, economic, and religious control are hallmarks of organized societies throughout human history. In the Virginia colony, such methods were shaped by the presence of powerful, long-established indigenous nations, the need for the colonial experiment to become profitable quickly for the benefit of its English investors, and the quickly-adopted reliance on enslaved laborers native to the African continent.[3] Over the course of the 17th century, therefore, the colonial government, officials of the English crown, financial investors, and a minuscule but increasingly influential colonial elite created a system to justify massive expropriation of lands from indigenous peoples and use of enslaved laborers to work those lands in order to generate financial profits and political capital for themselves.

Member tribes of the Powhatan confederation greeted the first English colonists to reach Tsenacomoco's shores in 1607 and helped the poorly prepared group to survive their first winter at the fort they named in honor of their English king, James I. Relationships, however, among the Powhatan confederation and the English colonists at Jamestown deteriorated quickly due to the competing priorities of the indigenous peoples and the colonists. The First Anglo-Powhatan War began just two years after the English colonists' arrival. Through it and two subsequent wars, the English gained territory from the Powhatan confederation, until, in 1646, the confederation entered a treaty with the English that included "reservations" of lands in perpetuity for their surviving numbers, but comprised of only a fraction of the historic expanse of Tscenacomomco.[4] One of the treaty's provisions presaged centuries-long efforts to control the movements of American Indians and people of African descent. Any Powhatan confederation tribal member who traveled south of the York River was required to display a striped pass on their person to indicate that they had entered the colonial territory on the Royal Governor's business, a sharp contrast from the balance of relationships between the Powhatan tribes and English colonists less than forty years prior. [5] Furthermore, the concept of passes to indicate a right to travel through lands controlled by White authorities soon was applied to enslaved people of African descent and, eventually, to free people of color.

The everyday living circumstances of Africans in Virginia during the early to mid-17th century are not yet well understood, but the legal status of free, indentured, and enslaved Africans and their descendants evolved markedly by the end of the 17th century. Some Africans arrived in Virginia as free people on ships from England and other colonial powers or through other means of transport, such as traveling from other English colonies along the eastern seaboard or from the Caribbean. Africans also reached the colony as indentured servants and, upon completion of their service contracts, were considered to be free in the same fashion as English residents who had once been indentured. The principle of lifetime enslavement of Africans had existed in Virginia since 1619 but whether that status was inherited by the offspring of enslaved people was much more fluid through the mid-17th century. During this span, White enslavers began to conceptualize space and mobility through a racialized process designed to control all persons of African lineage. Between 1619-c. 1700, Virginia's colonial government created a legal framework that regulated the places that enslaved and indentured people could go, when they could go, and for what reasons. The colony's earliest organized policing efforts often focused on tracking the movements of enslaved and indentured people and, with Africans comprising a larger share of this population, skin color began to be used as an indication of likely legal status. Furthermore, individuals found to be at large without a written pass provided by their White enslaver were subject to arrest, punishment, and, in some instances, execution. From these origins evolved the slave patrols of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which targeted any person perceived to be in a space where they did not belong and based on the certainty that White people must control those spaces.

By 1640, legal treatment of indentured Black and White people began to diverge along racial lines and this precedent came to characterize colonial law within a few decades. An early example of such racialization is that of John Punch, a person of mixed lineage whose father was African. Punch worked on Gwynn's Island in present-day Mathews County as an indentured servant of Hugh Gwynn. In 1640, Punch, along with Victor, a Dutchman, and James Gregory, a Scot, tried to flee their indentured servitude in Virginia, but were captured in the neighboring colony of Maryland and returned to Gwynn. On July 9, 1640, the three men were tried before the

General Court, a colonial-era body made up of approximately twelve of the colony's wealthiest and most influential men. The General Court handled all of the most consequential civil cases throughout the colonial era as well as criminal cases against White colonists. The General Court ordered that Victor and James Gregory each receive a whipping of thirty lashes each and then finish out their remaining indenture periods. John Punch also received thirty lashes but the rest of his punishment differed considerably, with the Court decreeing that he "shall serve his said master or his assigns for the time of his natural Life here or elsewhere."[6] The case is considered to be "possibly… the first legal distinction between Europeans and Africans in Virginia' s courts."[7] Two weeks later, on July 9, 1640, the same court levied punishments for one Black and six White indentured servants who had attempted to run away, but did not single out Emanuel, the Black servant, for lifetime servitude. The differences in the treatment of John Punch and Emanuel are reflective of the continued fluidity of Black men's status in the colony during the mid-17th century.[8]

Moreover, John Punch's fate is directly related to a significant aspect of Black history in Virginia related to the policing by White people of Black people's movements within and among spaces. Wherever slavery exists, there are people seeking freedom. With freedom seekers [9] and indentured servants a widespread concern of colonial elites, a variety of methods were devised to identify potential freedom seekers and forcibly return them to servitude. In 1658, the General Assembly passed an act entitled "Concerning Huies [sic] and Cries," which decreed that petitions for recovery of such individuals were to be signed by the petitioner, made public, and circulated across jurisdictions. Importantly, the legislation allowed fines to be levied against constables who were found "negligent" in their efforts to capture enslaved people who sought freedom, while any person who learned of a petition for recovery of a freedom seeker was effectively deputized and authorized to apprehend them.[10] Additionally, distinctions based upon lineage became more clearly defined, with free persons of African descent losing legal status and standing equal to that of Europeans.[11] Heritable slavery for persons of African lineage (based on the status of the person's mother) was enshrined in colonial Virginia law by 1662, by which time the financial return of an enslaved versus a free workforce was indisputable to White plantation owners. Within thirty years, enslaved laborers of African lineage composed nearly all of the bound workforce controlled by White elites; their numbers increased through importation of individuals as well as birth rates among enslaved women.[12]

Colonial Virginia's Legal Framework for Race-Based Enslavement

In 1672, an "*Act for the apprehension and suppression of runaways* [*sic*], *negroes, and slaves*" placed all persons of African lineage in the same legal category and presaged the racialized terms, such as "mulatto," being developed for describing individuals with mixed Native American, European, and African lineage. The legislation further stated that, "if any Negro, mulatto, Indian slave, or servant for life, run away and shall be pursued by warrant or hue and cry, it shall and may be lawful for any person who shall endeavor to take them, upon the resistance of such Negro, mulatto, Indian slave, or servant for life, to kill or wound him or them so resisting."[13] The financial loss of such individuals to their contract holder or, in the case of an enslaved person, their owner, was to be borne by the public, with reimbursement for indentured Negros and enslaved people set at 4,500 pounds of tobacco and "caske a piece" (i.e., barrels or hogsheads) and Indians at three thousand pounds of tobacco and "caske a piece."[14] At this time, tobacco served as currency in the Virginia colony. The amount of 4,500 pounds of

tobacco had enormous monetary value, in keeping with the value an enslaved person's accrued lifetime of labor would have for a slaveowner. Finally, in 1691, county sheriffs were empowered to raise slave patrols, which effectively acted as law enforcement. The patrols were composed of private individuals, as the concept of a police force supported by public taxation had not yet reached the English colonies.[15] Importantly, however, the ability of private individuals to seek and capture indentured and enslaved people became deeply rooted in Virginia society, forming the societal and cultural bases for empowering vigilante groups to mete out their versions of justice against Black Virginians through the mid-twentieth century.

The late-17th-century legislation passed by the colonial government formed an enduring legal foundation for maintaining race-based slavery through the colonial, early republic, and antebellum eras in Virginia. Subsequent laws clarified the lifetime status of enslaved persons, established the limited circumstances when a slaveowner could manumit enslaved people, and regulated the movements and civil rights of enslaved and free Black people. By the 1705 passage of "An act concerning Servants and Slaves," slavery "was ensconced at all levels of Virginia society and was well on its way to completely replacing indentured servitude as the primary source of bound labor in the colony."[16] In 1727, the colonial legislature authorized creation of militias to patrol any area, with authority to apprehend anyone they suspected of being an enslaved person beyond their authorized space, to demand to see "free papers" of anyone of color who was not enslaved, and to police the movements of enslaved people who were authorized by their enslavers to engage in activities away from their enslaver, such as traveling from a place of employment back to living quarters.[17]

Over the course of the eighteenth century, the rights of free people of color continued to be curtailed as well. Due to their belief in the inherent superiority of White people, Virginia's elite class justified the growing restrictions on free people of mixed ancestry and began to develop a complicated classification of such individuals based on their perceived lineage. Terms such as "mulatto" and "octaroon" purported to identify a person's precise racial makeup regardless of their outward appearance, with any trace of non-White lineage considered to "taint" that person's legal and social worth.

Following the American Revolution, Virginia's state government conceded that resident Indians who were enrolled tribal members held a legal status different from that of enslaved African Americans and free Black people, which preserved a measure of tribal rights. White Virginians continued their ancestors' obsession with race, however, and argued repeatedly that no "true" Indians remained in Virginia due to what they claimed had been intermarriage with persons of African descent. While enrolled tribal members could not be enslaved, the repeated attempts to place Indians and African Americans into a single classification posed a constant threat to each tribe's identity, autonomy, and sovereignty as well as to the rights of all free persons of color.

Gabriel's Conspiracy and Nat Turner's Rebellion

Simultaneously, White enslavers became increasingly fearful of the potential for armed revolts by enslaved African Americans. In Virginia, among the best known of such occurrences was Gabriel's Conspiracy in 1800. The enslaved man, Gabriel, who lived near Richmond plotted with dozens of coconspirators to take up arms and march on Richmond to demand an end to slavery. The conspiracy was foiled by unexpected harsh weather and the betrayal of some conspirators to

White authorities. In the aftermath, panicked White enslavers began demanding methods to curtail the rights of all people of African descent in Virginia. In 1806, the General Assembly passed "An ACT to amend the several laws concerning slaves." The legislation required all manumitted people to leave Virginia within twelve months or risk re-enslavement. The law also banned enslaved people from anyplace outside Virginia from being brought to the Commonwealth for a period lasting longer than one year; enslavers who violated the law risked losing ownership of the enslaved individual. Other laws were updated or clarified to include that enslaved people could testify in court against a free person of color (but not White people), that local magistrates were empowered to operate patrols to police the movement of Black Virginians, that armed White militias were to be maintained in order to respond quickly to any future uprisings, and that enslaved people were not to be taught to read or write. All of these laws comprised the Slave Codes, a set of laws designed to minimize opportunities for African Americans to become educated, to organize, and to engage in political activities that would threaten the prevailing social and economic caste system. [18]

In August 1831, Nat Turner's Rebellion occurred, during which armed groups of enslaved African Americans attempted a takeover of plantations in Southampton County. Approximately 55 White people were killed before local and state militias arrived to put down the revolt. More than thirty of the insurrectionists were ordered to be executed or sold out of state. In the aftermath, the Virginia General Assembly passed more laws to restrict the actions, movements, and rights of African Americans, including that no groups could convene without the presence of a White overseer and that a White minister had to preside over Black religious services, regardless if participants were enslaved or free. As time went on, further race-based legal reprisals came into use. Free Black men and women now could be sold into slavery as punishment for certain crimes, while no comparable level of retribution existed for White people convicted of crimes. Similarly, public whipping as a punishment for White criminals ended in 1848 but continued for Black people, whether free or enslaved. While White people might commit acts that earned them a fine or other minor correction, African Americans typically were sentenced to lengthy prison terms. Literacy, which had been forbidden for enslaved people for decades, became increasingly difficult for free people of color to attain. All of these trends thereafter informed Virginia's approach to policing Black people's activities, spaces, and bodies in ways that White people were not.[19]

Black Spaces and Black Movement Through Landscapes During the 19th Century

Counterparts to the landscapes and spaces controlled by White Virginians were those associated with "maroon" communities and with the Underground Railroad. As explained in *Encyclopedia Virginia*, the word "maroon" is a corruption of the French term *petit marronage*, in which individuals and groups of people occupied inhospitable landscapes rather than submit to enslavement. Early in Virginia's colonial history, Native Americans and people of African descent sought refuge in such places and these communities continued to exist at least through the Civil War. The Great Dismal Swamp is the best known of the maroon landscapes in Virginia, and has been the subject of several in-depth archaeological investigations.[20]

Figure 1. 1807 Sketch of the Great Dismal Swamp in Virginia and North Carolina (Image Source: "Great Dismal Swamp, Encyclopedia Virginia, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/great-dismal-swamp/)

The Great Dismal Swamp's extent, encompassing approximately 750 square miles from southeastern Virginia into northeastern North Carolina, coupled with its daunting flora and fauna, made it a forbidding place for anyone unfamiliar with its terrain to enter. Even slavecatchers were wary of entering the swamp. Generations of "maroons," as those who resided in the swamps were called, lived beyond the reach of the White-dominated legal system, while engaging in informal economies with nearby enslaved communities on large plantations. In 1763, the Great Dismal Swamp company was formed to begin the task of draining the swamp, a project that never was completed but did result in construction of the Great Dismal Swamp Canal between 1793-1805. Enslaved and free laborers were employed by the company to build the canal and those who wanted to seek freedom could find refuge among the maroon communities.[21] The swamp also formed portions of the Underground Railroad routes through southeastern Virginia to the port cities of Norfolk, Newport News, Portsmouth, and Hampton. At these cities, freedom seekers could be assisted by the many Black people, free and enslaved, who worked in the maritime industries and helped them with boarding small vessels and steamships bound for New York, Philadelphia, and other northern places where slavery had been outlawed in 1804. Neighborhoods of free Black people and churches owned by Black congregations also could provide refuge, at least for a time. In much the same way, Virginia's major rivers, including the James, Elizabeth, York, and Potomac, could be traversed by African Americans seeking freedom. Black watermen plied all of these rivers, often working beyond the supervision of White overseers, and neighborhoods of free people of color existed in river cities such as Richmond and Fredericksburg. The ubiquity of slave patrols, coupled with the suspicions of White onlookers, however, made all such activities vulnerable to discovery and retribution.[22]

The Underground Railroad and the "Invisible" Landscape of Freedom Seekers

Significant to the movement of African Americans through landscapes such as the Great Dismal Swamp, port cities, and inland rivers was the availability of advance knowledge about those spaces. Surveillance of enslaved people was pervasive but could not, in practical terms, be all-encompassing. By forbidding enslaved people the ability to read and write, enslavers may have believed they could prevent African Americans from conveying information across long distances, but they either underestimated or were entirely ignorant of other means of long-distance communication. Enslaved people who sought to maintain contact with, or news about, family members held at neighboring properties could pass messages via those enslaved persons whose duties took them from one place to another. Furthermore, in the course of their ordinary work, as well as from the collective, cumulative knowledge of their communities, enslaved people could gain considerable information about the surroundings of their home plantation for planning their own or facilitating others' flights toward freedom. Information for planning their trips reached enslaved people through another, often unrecognized source: African American spiritual songs (also sometimes known as Negro spirituals). According to the Library of Congress, such songs as "Steal Away to Jesus" and "I Got My Ticket" contained coded messages about methods for traveling north, while "O Canaan, Sweet Canaan" actually referred to Canada,

which did not have slavery and, therefore, was a destination for many African Americans. Harriet Tubman, the most famous of the "conductors" along the Underground Railroad, claimed "Go Down, Moses" as her message of freedom.[23] Tubman herself grew up within a mostly wild landscape in eastern Maryland, within today's 28,000-acre Blackwater Wildlife Refuge, where canals, wetlands, waterways, and swales much like those of the Great Dismal Swamp could be both barriers to outside entry and corridors toward freedom. Her knowledge about such landscapes, and ability to navigate by stars, meant that she guided at least 70 people to freedom. [24]

Native Americans, some of whom had intermarried or otherwise maintained relationships with people of African descent since the colonial era, also could provide valuable intelligence about an area. Themselves marginalized but long recognized in Virginia as free people not subject to enslavement, indigenous peoples used sophisticated methods for navigating along the edges of Virginia places that were dominated by White authorities. Finally, in urban settings and places with highly demanding physical labor, such as on canal construction projects and in mines, enslaved people often worked alongside free people of color, thus gaining additional means of conveying information. In Petersburg, the Pocahontas Island community was such an example, with a diverse population of African Americans, Native Americans, and people of mixed lineage.[25] These means of navigating unfamiliar terrain, obtaining and conveying information, and guiding people to freedom are demonstrative of the creativity and expertise of freedom seekers and those who aided them. Even disguises, forged documents, and feints and red herrings, today's tropes of countless adventure novels, figured among the tactics they used to facilitate people's safe passage.[26]

Consequently, a freedom seeker needed only to know the *next* safe place to go; they did not have to map in advance their complete route from a Virginia plantation to a northern free state or the Canadian border. The Underground Railroad functioned in this fashion from the late-18th century through the early 1860s, during which time an unknown number of freedom seekers traveled through hundreds of miles of unknown territory.[27] Although White enslavers knew about the Underground Railroad (in no small part because northern White abolitionists published taunting tracts about its successes), enslavers could not hope to control such expansive and forbidding landscapes as the Great Dismal Swamp, nor the fluid networks of African Americans, Native Americans, and White people who dedicated themselves to aiding freedom seekers and to ending the institution of slavery altogether. Enslavers, however, refused to concede the impossibility of their aspirations. The crescendo of the pre-Civil War organized efforts to control the movements of people of African descent throughout Virginia and elsewhere in the country came with Congressional passage of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, which empowered "slavecatchers" to travel to any part of the country and arrest people they believed to be freedom seekers. People of color who never had been enslaved often were forced into slavery through such means; the abduction into slavery of Solomon Northup, author of *Twelve Years a Slave,* is among the most famous such events. The true number of free African Americans who were kidnapped and sold into slavery is unlikely ever to be known, but the phenomenon was well known in northern states. Obstacles to aiding kidnapped individual included that kidnappers often destroyed identification papers or dismissed them as forged, friends and family of kidnapped people were not permitted to testify in court or otherwise seek legal recourse, and most White people were unconcerned about the situation.[28] While the majority of White people were complacent, a

growing and highly vocal contingent of White abolitionists insisted that the tensions intrinsic to a country that attempted to host both enslaved and free populations could no longer be borne.

Origins of the abolitionist movement extended back to the mid-18th century, when Quakers in Philadelphia were blamed for aiding an enslaved man's quest for freedom. George Washington, first president of the United States, worried that "private societies" had been organized to undermine enslavers' ability to capture freedom seekers such as Hercules Posey, his enslaved cook who had self-emancipated from Mount Vernon in 1797. The Virginia General Assembly likewise included "voluntary associations of individuals" in amending Slave Codes to stiffen penalties against anyone who assisted a freedom seeker.[29] In contrast, the British military offered freedom to enslaved Africans and African Americans who joined their fight against the Continental Army during the Revolutionary War, but at that time, slavery still was legal in the British empire. Abolitionism, however, soon grew to encompass the English Crown and the empire abolished its international commercial slave trade in 1807. That the British now recognized the rights of Black people while the U.S., which claimed to have fought a revolution in the name of freedom, did not was an irony not lost on contemporaries.

During the War of 1812, when the British military again announced that any enslaved person who could reach their forces automatically would be freed, enslavers as well as other White Americans were aghast.[30] Not only did the British seek to take what was considered rightful property of enslavers, but many White onlookers were astonished that enslaved people even would seek freedom. The majority of White people at that time believed that persons of African lineage inherently were inferior and, therefore, the "care and protection" offered by enslavers benefitted the enslaved. Even more inflammatory to American authorities and enslavers was that the British invited freedom seekers to join the military ranks and take up arms, fear of which had been especially acute ever since the aforementioned Gabriel's Conspiracy in 1800. Finally, the British were willing to transport freedom seekers uninterested in or unable to perform military service to a British colony, where they would be British subjects in the same fashion as those born within the empire's colonies. On Tangier Island in the Chesapeake Bay along Virginia's coast, Fort Albion, held by the British navy under the command of Rear Admiral Sir George Cockburn, saw two thousand freedom seekers, including men, women, and children, arrive at its gates. On September 25, 1813, hundreds of these individuals traveled aboard British ships to Bermuda dockyards where they could find work or continue on as free persons to other British colonies, mainly Nova Scotia or Trinidad, where they would be given land. The Black colonists faced extremely challenging climatic, environmental, and social conditions in their new homes; descendant communities, however, still persist today.[31] The handful of African Americans who decided to return to enslavement were permitted to leave Fort Albion, a right to self-determination rarely available to Black Virginians during the slavery era. [32] The experience with Fort Albion, furthermore, demonstrated that knowledge of a safe place spread rapidly among enslaved people, that they would act quickly to take advantage of the opportunity, and that their movements through unknown and challenging landscapes were prolific. Many of the freedom seekers who reached Fort Albion were aided by enslaved communities at Tidewater plantations and by the Black watermen, free and enslaved, who plied the waters of the Chesapeake Bay.

The British empire's 1807 abolition of slavery impelled American abolitionists to greater ambitions as well. By the early 19th century, Quakers, in particular, led the way on the

abolitionist cause. In North Carolina, Virginia, and Delaware, Quakers engaged in organized efforts to aid free African Americans who had been kidnapped into slavery, including facilitating escapes from local jails, as well as helping freedom seekers to reach free states.[33] As the abolitionist cause grew increasingly influential, national debates intensified over how the institution of slavery could be dismantled. Political leaders and wealthy elites in slave-owning states insisted that their right to own and exploit other human beings was divinely ordained. White abolitionists, on the other hand, appointed themselves to determine if dissolution of slavery might best be managed by sending people of African descent to a new African colony, dubbed Liberia; by establishing an all-Black territory within the U.S., similar to the reservations that had been created for occupation by Native American tribes; or by encouraging or requiring emigration to other parts of the western hemisphere. Black abolitionists, most notably Frederick Douglass, argued for the rights of Black people to have self-determination, but this was not an argument widely welcomed even among White people sympathetic to the cause of ending slavery. For White people who considered African Americans to be innately inferior, such self-determination simply was not conceivable. By 1860, 58,042 free Black Virginians were recorded in the decennial census and provided ample evidence of capably managing their affairs. White Virginians, however, either could not or would not acknowledge this truth. As the dominant racial caste, White people presumed authority over all aspects of Black people's lives, from the question of their freedom to the spaces they could or should occupy.

The Civil War and the End of Slavery in the U.S.

The rancor of the arguments against and in favor of slavery eventually escalated to armed insurrection in the slaveholding states. In December 1860, southern states began to secede from the United States out of fear that slavery soon would be outlawed by the federal government, thus beginning the Civil War (1861-1865). Fort Monroe, located in Hampton, Virginia, was among the four U.S. military fortifications in southern states at the time the Civil War began. Due to its strategic position at the mouth of the James River and at the southern end of the Chesapeake Bay, where the Potomac River led directly to Washington, D.C., Fort Monroe was vital to the nation's defense. Additionally, the fortress's proximity to Norfolk's shipyards and port, as well as the ability provided by the fort for U.S. forces to close the Hampton Roads region to Confederate shipping and to cut off access via the James River to the Confederate capital in Richmond, were invaluable. Fort Monroe remained under U.S. military control for the war's duration. Enslaved African Americans immediately began to seize opportunities for freedom. Just over a month after the firing on Fort Sumter in South Carolina, Major General Benjamin F. Butler took command of Fort Monroe on May 22, 1861. Almost immediately, he was confronted with an issue that would prove to be of national consequence: African American freedom seekers who had traveled to the fortification rather than continuing to engage in forced labor on behalf of the Confederate military.

During the first few weeks of the war, President Abraham Lincoln's administration pursued a policy of "noninterference" with slavery, including condoning a military commander in Florida who forced the return of freedom seekers at Fort Pickens to their enslavers. From the beginning of its preparations for war, the Confederate military planned to impress all "able-bodied free black and slave men to construct fortifications."[34] After 240 years of reliance on slavery, White elites in the Confederate states may not have imagined that the situation could be handled otherwise. In terms of military strategy, every enslaved person impressed to build defensive

works freed an able-bodied White man to join in the fighting. Moreover, both Lincoln's and the Confederates' perspectives presumed that White people would and should determine the fates of African Americans, whether enslaved or free, regardless of the freedom seekers' actions. Although the Lincoln administration soon abandoned its efforts to avoid slavery, the larger assumptions about the agency of Black Virginians continued for decades thereafter.

Contrabands of War

On May 24, 1861, three freedom seekers who had reached Fort Monroe were brought to Butler's attention. The three men explained that they had been ordered to work on a Confederate artillery battery at Sewell's Point in Norfolk. Butler decided that he would not acquiesce to enslavers' demands that the three individuals be forced back into their custody.[35] Working within the legal framework of the period, Butler classified the freedom seekers as "contrabands of war," because these persons were considered property under the law and any property used by the Confederates in their uprising against the United States was subject to confiscation. Butler explained his reasoning in letters to General-in-Chief Winfield Scott and U.S. Secretary of War Simeon Cameron, including that the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act was a U.S. law and, therefore, not applicable in the Confederate states. While he qualified that he would return freedom seekers to enslavers who swore allegiance to the United States, he also held that women and children, who were far less likely to engage in war-related labor, were not subject to return to enslavers. Enslavers who fled their own homes to seek more secure environs deeper within Confederate territory, in Butler's view, had discarded their property, including the people they held in bondage, and were not entitled to its return. A crucial aspect of his approach, therefore, was that freedom seekers were not, in fact, free to make their own choices.[36] This position was diametrically opposite to the British military's approach during the War of 1812.

No one in the U.S. military nor the Lincoln administration countermanded Butler's decision. The consequences were immediate and far reaching. Fort Monroe, and any other places held by U.S. military forces, were now considered "free lands" where slavery would not be permitted. By July 1861, Fort Monroe alone hosted 900 freedom seekers. In August 1861, the U.S. Congress passed a Confiscation Act that formalized federal seizure of all property used in the support of the Confederate military, with enslaved people specified as one type of such property. The new law also permitted Black men and women to engage in wage labor under the direction of military commanders. Meanwhile, disinclined to concern themselves with legal technicalities, hundreds of thousands of freedom seekers over the next four years made the dangerous trek toward U.S.-held territory. Butler's "contrabands decision," as it came to be known, and the Confiscation Act further laid the groundwork for Lincoln's eventual Emancipation Proclamation as the president came to understand that no scenario for reunification of the United States could include slavery. Approximately 500,000 freedom seekers reached U.S. military lines by the war's end.[37]

Equally important, the presence of numerous Black men of fighting age, who already were deeply familiar with southern landscapes, convinced some U.S. military commanders to enroll freedom seekers and free Black men in their military units. Frederick Douglass argued to Lincoln himself that Black Americans had the right to take up arms to defend the U.S. Both the president and Secretary of War Edwin Stanton initially disagreed but, by late 1862, had been convinced by the experiences of U.S. General David Hunter's recruitment of Black Americans from the Union-occupied Sea Islands off Georgia's coast, U.S. Senator James Lane's organization of the

1st Kansas Colored Volunteers, and the Louisiana Native Guard, composed of several free Black militia regiments. When Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863, he included language authorizing Black men to enlist in the U.S. military along with his more famous order that ended slavery in the Confederate states (but not, at that time, slavery within Missouri, Kentucky, West Virginia, and Maryland, slaveholding states that had not seceded). The U.S. military's leadership and the Lincoln administration agreed to accept volunteers for military service in a segregated branch of the U.S. Army named the United States Colored Troops (USCT) and, on May 22, 1863, Major Charles W. Foster took charge of the Bureau for Colored Troops within the War Department.[38] The men who volunteered, many of them formerly enslaved or whose relatives were enslaved, finally had the opportunity to take up arms as part of the U.S. military against Virginia's entrenched White elites who had embraced slavery for 260 years. Reflective, however, of the presumptions of authority assumed by White authorities, Black volunteers were permitted only to serve in the USCT's enlisted ranks, while White commissioned officers were placed in command and would determine where and when Black troops would be deployed throughout the war. Many White people, military and civilian alike, doubted the viability of Black troops, despite that African Americans had served the U.S. (as well as the British) during the American Revolution and the War of 1812. Battery B of the 2nd US Colored Troops Light Artillery was formed at Fort Monroe in January 1864.[39]

Discriminatory treatment against Black servicemembers was endemic, ranging from a lower rate of pay to denial of recruiting bounties to denial of aid for their dependents. The soldiers, however, refused to tolerate unequal treatment and, in some cases, lay down their arms in protest. The U.S. government responded in uneven fashion to these disputes, but eventually Congress did pass legislation to equalize pay for Black and White soldiers. Racial segregation of the soldiers, however, was considered a matter of course that was not up for discussion among either military or civilian White leadership. On the other hand, in at least one place in Virginia, the interment of USCT troops in military cemeteries was a topic that civilian White people appointed themselves to decide.

Between May-December 1864, Reverend Albert S. Gladwin, who served as Superintendent of Contrabands for a large freedmen's community in Alexandria, ordered that USCT troops who died at L'Ouverture Hospital would be buried at the civilian Contrabands and Freedmen's Cemetery. As described in the cemetery's National Register nomination, the hospital, "constructed specifically for the care of the city's wounded and ill African American soldiers and civilians," was a racially segregated space in the U.S.-held city of Alexandria, as was the cemetery. "On December 26, 1865, a hearse bound for the Soldiers' Cemetery from the contraband hospital was redirected by Reverend Gladwin, who insisted the burial take place at Contrabands and Freedmen Cemetery." Over the protests of the USCT escort, the driver of the hearse was forced out of his seat and a White civilian drove it to the Contrabands and Freedmen Cemetery. "This action led to a USCT protest at L'Ouverture Hospital." Their protest included a written petition, signed by 443 USCT soldiers, arguing for their right to be buried in Soldiers' Cemetery. Assistant Quartermaster James G. C. Lee quickly brought the matter to his chain of command, General John P. Slough, military governor of Alexandria, and Quartermaster General Montgomery C. Meigs, writing, "As might be expected, the most intense feeling on the part of the officers was felt, that this man, a citizen, should be allowed to interfere" and, he added, "The feeling on the part of the colored [*sic*] soldiers is unanimous to be placed in the military cemetery and it seems but just and right that they should be…" The military leadership agreed and,

"between January 6 and 17, 1865, the remains of 118 USCT were moved from the black cemetery and reinterred in Section B at the national military cemetery under the direction of Captain Lee."[40] Burial of USCT soldiers within the network of national cemeteries that the U.S. military created after the Civil War represented a significant acknowledgement by the federal government that the service of USCT soldiers warranted the nation's highest respect and perpetual care of their interments. In Fredericksburg, meanwhile, both a National Cemetery and a Confederate Cemetery were established immediately after the war. The Fredericksburg National Cemetery, containing the graves of approximately 15,300 U.S. soldiers killed in battles in the city, was established by and continues to be owned by the federal government; today, it is administered by the National Cemetery Administration within the Department of Veterans Affairs. The Confederate Cemetery is an expansion area adjacent to the 1844 City Cemetery and was purchased by the Ladies Memorial Association of Fredericksburg in 1866. Confederate soldiers were buried here after the war and the Ladies Association continues to own and manage the property.[41] The uninterrupted maintenance of national cemeteries is a far cry from the treatment of the vast majority of slave cemeteries that were at most Virginia plantations, a topic that is discussed in greater detail below.[42]

Freedmen's Communities: Contested Black Spaces

The fates of freedmen's communities after the Civil War ended are illustrative of other ways that White officials' assumed control of spaces and landscapes inhabited by Black Virginians, as well as the interface between Black communities and the larger settings dominated by White society. Federal troops, under the auspices of the Freedmen's Bureau, continued to occupy the former Confederate states until 1877. Among the Bureau's many tasks were working with benevolent societies, such as the American Missionary Association, wealthy philanthropists, and Black churches to establish schools from the elementary through college levels for children and adults, enforcing contracts (including for labor and for land sales) between former enslavers and freed persons, helping Black people to find relatives and/or to relocate, assisting Black veterans with obtaining back pay, bounty payments, and pensions, and legalizing marriages of freed people that, prior to the Civil War, had not been recognized under state law when enslaved people were considered to be property. The Bureau's hospitals and temporary camps, where clothing and food were distributed, were available both to Black and White people. Much of this work was accomplished in just three-and-a-half years, from June 1865-December 1868.[43] The Bureau also responded to "White terrorists [who] threatened and attacked teachers and students, and burned down schoolhouses along with Black churches and businesses to intimidate Black communities."[44] Vigilante gangs, most notoriously the Ku Klux Klan, founded by virulent racist Nathan Bedford Forest, were responsible for the violence. Wearing disguises and masks, they often committed their crimes at night against unarmed Black communities.

During the war, a large freedmen's community had grown around Alexandria's Fort Ward, which was held by U.S. forces throughout the war. The military closed the fort after the war ended. The freedmen's community remained in place and, over subsequent decades, individual African Americans attempted to gain clear title to the land they occupied and improved. As explained in the National Register nomination for the Oakland Baptist Church Cemetery in Alexandria,

much of this [lack of clear title] owed to the federal government's failure to assist with [the freedmen's] long-term resettlement. During the war, lands that the federal government had confiscated from Southern owners in open rebellion had been given to freed people to work as their own, with the promise that they could retain ownership. Famously, in January 1865, Union General William Tecumseh Sherman had issued Field Order No. 15, which ordered that roughly 400,000 acres in South Carolina and Florida be redistributed in 40-acre allotments to newly emancipated African Americans.[45] Less than a year later, however, President Andrew Johnson rescinded the order, over the objections of the head of the Freedmen's Bureau, and returned most of the land to prewar owners or their heirs. A similar situation occurred with the Freedman's Village established by Congressional order on the grounds of Arlington, Confederate General Robert E. Lee's plantation in northern Virginia. The first attempt to close the [Fort Ward] village occurred in 1868. Although residents successfully fought off that effort, by the 1880s, evictions began and the village fully closed by 1900. People who had lived on and improved the land since the 1860s received compensation, but this was based on an 1868 appraisal and a contrabands fund tax collected during the war, not current market values.[46]

On the other hand, at Fort Monroe, during the war the number of freedom seekers had quickly exceeded the fortress's capacity to shelter them. A "Grand Contraband Camp" was established in nearby Hampton, which had been vacated by White residents and its buildings largely destroyed by the Confederate army in 1861. The camp became "the first self-contained black community in the nation."[47] According to the National Park Service, at an outdoor location near a tree, Mary Smith Peake, the first Black teacher hired by the American Missionary Association, began teaching "contrabands" to read and write; the same site was where the Emancipation Proclamation was read aloud to the Black community in 1863 and thereafter the tree was named Emancipation Oak. The same year, General Benjamin Butler used federal funds to found the Butler School where Black children were instructed in reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, and other subjects.[48] In 1868, the Hampton Institute, a White-owned private school for African Americans, was established around Emancipation Oak; it is today's Hampton University and was designated a National Historic Landmark in 1974. Approximately 9,000 freedom seekers lived in Hampton at the war's end. Many of the men engaged in wage labor for the U.S. forces that occupied the area. "[B]ecause the white owner of the field that first hosted the camp had gone bankrupt, the people who settled there were among the first African Americans in the nation able to purchase land and homes."[49] Even after White residents returned to Hampton, the portion of the city where the camp had been located continued to have majority-Black neighborhoods, whose residents avoided displacement as compared to their counterparts in Alexandria.[50]

With the war's end and reunification of the country, for a time African Americans finally could travel as they wished and as their circumstances permitted. In addition to the work of the Freedmen's Bureau, the first years of the Reconstruction Era included ratification of the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments to the Constitution, which respectively abolished slavery, granted African Americans birthright citizenship, empowered Black men with the right to vote, and guaranteed due process of law. Importantly, however, the constitutional amendments were ratified only by a majority of the states that had not seceded in 1860-1861. The U.S. Congress responded by passing legislation to require each of the former Confederate states to pass a new

constitution as a condition for readmission to the Union. Meanwhile, 84 Black legislators were elected to Virginia's House of Delegates and 14 Black Virginians were elected to the state Senate. John Mercer Langston served as a U.S. Congressmember representing Petersburg in 1890-1891. White Americans in Virginia and elsewhere, however, quickly contested these newly won freedoms and, within two decades, succeeded in rolling back the rights enjoyed by Black people. As Craig Steven Wilder, in the documentary film *Driving While Black,* explained, "The extraordinary conflict between the desire of African Americans for a full three-dimensional freedom and citizenship, and the extraordinary backlash that happens as White Americans attempt to police their movement, return[ed freed people] to the condition under which they had previously worked."[51]

Virginia's Vagrancy Laws Subvert the Reconstruction Era

Although defeated, the White majorities in the former Confederate states, including Virginia, quickly demonstrated unwillingness to accept the new social order that entailed equality with Black citizens. In 1866, the Virginia General Assembly, still dominated by conservative White delegates and senators, passed an act "for the punishment of Vagrants" that was an opening salvo in the campaign to regain White authorities' control over Black Virginians. The "vagrants" in question were any Black person who was not employed in paid labor or who had refused to work for low wages. Local authorities were empowered to arrest these individuals and hire them out to work in much the same way enslavers had done during the slavery era.[52] While the 13th amendment to the Constitution, ratified in December 1865, had illegalized both slavery and involuntary servitude, persons convicted of crimes could be forced to work. Virginia's vagrancy laws, therefore, were designed to subvert spirit, if not the letter, of the 13th amendment. Other former Confederate states passed similar laws, outraging the Radical Republicans who controlled Congress. In response, the 13th and 14th amendments to the Constitution were proposed.

Ratified in July 1868, the 14th amendment confirmed that Black Americans were citizens of the U.S. and that all citizens were entitled to due process of law, while the 15th amendment, ratified in February 1870, extended the franchise to Black men.[53] During the same period, the U.S. Congress passed legislation collectively known as the Reconstruction Acts that established the terms for a former Confederate state to seek readmission to the U.S. A new state constitution was among the requirements for reentry and the new governing documents were required to include several provisions to democratize southern society.

Accordingly, between December 1867-April 1868, Virginians convened a constitutional convention in Richmond. Republicans, including 24 Black delegates, held the majority, in part because many White Virginians had refused to participate in the election of delegates. Federal judge John C. Underwood chaired the convention. The new constitution's provisions included the creation of the first statewide public education system, extending the franchise to Black men, and reorganization of the structure of local governments to make them more democratic. All of these were designed to empower lower-income White Virginians as well as Black residents by making local and state governments more responsive to the will of all the people, as opposed to only the ruling elite who had hoarded power in Virginia since the colonial era. A large majority of Virginia's voters ratified the constitution in 1869 and Virginia was readmitted to the U.S. on January 26, 1870.[54]

Despite these efforts, the Virginia General Assembly's conservative White politicians slowly regained the lion's share of power and influence during the 1870s, while White and Black Republicans and "Readjusters" began to lose ground in both elections and popular opinion. Over the vocal objections of political opponents, the conservative majority in the General Assembly passed a series of laws, known collectively as "Black Codes," with identical purposes as the antebellum- and colonial-era laws designed to force individuals of African descent into permanent lower legal status without the rights enjoyed by White residents.[55]

The new legislative tactics built upon the concepts embodied in the 1866 law, "for the punishment of Vagrants," by imposing more official control over the movements of and occupation of space by African Americans, primarily via their options for employment. "Vagrancy" which meant being without apparent employment, was a criminal charge that could be used against any Black person who refused to work for a White person, despite that the charged individual may already have been self-employed, worked for a Black employer, had been offered only very low wages, or had other reasons for not working for another person. Upon their conviction for vagrancy, the Black person was forced to perform unpaid labor by the local or state court, typically as part of a "chain gang" made up of convicted persons so named because the group were chained together to limit their movements. Chain gangs worked under the supervision of armed White officers of the law. Enhancements to the vagrancy law included turning misdemeanors, such as petty theft, into felonies, empowering local courts to sentence those convicted of felonies to prison, and making the convicted individuals available for unpaid labor on public projects, such as road construction. Following this concept came the convict labor leasing system, which permitted local and state governments to lease chain gangs to private employers who then paid the government entity, not the workers themselves, for their labor. These tactics, now referred to as "slavery by another name," were used at the local and state levels of government in Virginia.[56]

<u>Black Land Ownership and Reconstruction Era Communities</u>

Despite the turmoil of the postwar years, Black Virginians commenced the work of establishing their own communities with properties and institutions solely under their control for the first time in state history.[57] In rural areas, small Reconstruction Era communities soon dotted the landscape. Character-defining features of these communities were a church, cemetery, and school, and many also featured at least one fraternal hall or benevolent society, along with privately-owned dwellings. The Willisville Historic District in Loudoun County is an example of how these rural communities were established and persevered up to the present. The crossroads village was founded by Black residents who had chosen to stay in close proximity to where they had lived prior to the war. Approximately 30 such settlements once existed in Loudoun County, but today Willisville is among the handful that remain. In 1868, the Freedmen's Bureau assisted with the founding of a school for the community. The modest log building also housed the village's small Methodist Episcopal congregation, which built a parsonage for a preacher in 1884. A cemetery was placed adjacent to the school. These three institutions represented the first time that Black Virginians could exercise control over their education, religious services, and burial of their dead, making their significance difficult to overstate.

Starting in 1872, White landowner Townsend Seaton carved small lots from his former plantation to sell to African American families, including approximately one acre to John and

Delia Howard, three acres to Lucinda Willis, three acres to George Evans, and three acres to Henry Jackson. All of the lots were in an area with land poorly suited to farming. In 1875, another White landowner, John Armistead Carter, sold one-acre lots to Sarah Jackson and to George Tebbs. These plots formed the core of Willisville. In addition to subsistence farming on their own land, most of Willisville's residents worked on neighboring White-owned plantations where they and/or their ancestors had been enslaved. In 1924, White landowner Mary Dulany Neville donated land for construction of a new church sanctuary. Congregation members constructed the building of locally available fieldstones and finished the interior. The vast majority of Virginia's rural Black churches that predate the 1950s are modestly-sized buildings that, like Willisville's, were designed and completed by Black carpenters, stonemasons, and brick masons who utilized locally available materials, including lumber they felled and bricks manufactured on site, making these buildings the epitome of vernacular architecture.[58]

In Essex County's Occupacia-Rappahannock Rural Historic District, the cultural landscape is typical of many areas in rural Virginia, particularly the Tidewater and Southside regions. Located in northern Essex County, the historic district encompasses 44,884 acres defined by the Rappahannock River, smaller waterways, agricultural and wooded lots, and historic roads. Much of the landscape's spatial relationships and circulation networks date to the 18th century and area illustrative of a slavery-based, plantation economy dominated by local agriculture. According to federal census data, the Black population in Essex dropped by 1,500 persons between 1860 and 1870. Documentation regarding this loss is scant, but at least some of the departed individuals are thought to have made their way to U.S.-held territory while the Civil War was still happening. Still more departed the county after the war, in search of relatives who had been taken elsewhere by enslavers, of employment, or to reunite with people from whom they'd been separated during the war. Essex County was almost entirely rural during the 1860s and remained so well into the twentieth century. Census data suggests that many freed African Americans settled in racially homogenous communities, and an impressive 41 percent of Black families owned Essex County farmland by 1870. By 1910, of the county's 1,500 farms, 807 were owned by African Americans.[59]

African Americans who chose to remain in the area where they had been enslaved, or who could find no opportunity to go elsewhere, rarely continued to occupy the antebellum complex of dwellings built for enslaved people on plantations. Due to limited employment options, many freedmen continued to work as wage-earning laborers on the farms of former enslavers, while freedwomen continued to work as cooks, nannies, laundresses, seamstresses, and other domestic jobs. Through scrupulous financial acumen, Black families could accumulate enough savings to buy a plot of land, often from a former enslaver. Highly prized, land ownership was seen as a tangible marker of autonomy and independence, an asset as well as a refuge from the difficult, often hostile conditions that Black families faced in wider society. Because White landowners typically were willing to sell only marginal land to Black people, within the Occupacia-Rappahannock Rural Historic District, these families tended to live in clusters in swampy areas near the county's many streams or in areas that were difficult to clear for farming.

Over time, successful Black farmers acquired more land to create a family legacy that could be passed down to later generations, the first opportunity many Black families had ever had to accumulate generational wealth. Subdivision of family farms can be traced through land records, where the size of a given farm may have peaked in 1910 or 1920, and gradually was subdivided

as parents gifted a parcel for each of their offspring upon marriage or another important personal milestone. Today, the dwellings within the Occupacia-Rappahannock Historic District's Black-owned enclaves illustrate fairly consistent occupation patterns across several decades, often with an older dwelling or ruins that date to the early 20th century, another dwelling that dates to the 1920s or 1940s, and a third that dates to the 1960s or later. In addition to illustrating the breadth of a farm's occupation, these successive dwellings demonstrate the success of later generations as they upgraded their and their parent's properties. The continuation of rural settlement patterns established during Reconstruction are apparent as well.[60] Similar characteristics have been identified in numerous other Reconstruction Era Black communities across rural Virginia.

After the Civil War, northern Essex County's freed men and women established several small Reconstruction Era hamlets, within which a crossroads or communal space, such as a school or church, served as the focal point. In Occupacia-Rappahannock, the Champlain "Colored" School, built in the late-nineteenth or early-twentieth century, was a school for African American children, while First Baptist Church of Loretto, Antioch Baptist Church of Champlain, and Ebenezer Baptist Church of Supply were established during the late 1860s and continue to have active congregations.[61]

Pillars of Black Communities

Following emancipation, Black Virginians typically focused their efforts on acquiring a small amount of land, building a home, and then creating a community. Three pillars supported such communities: a church, a cemetery, and a school. Since Gabriel's Conspiracy in 1800, enslavers and the Virginia General Assembly had enacted laws that limited the basic freedoms of worship and assembly for enslaved people as well as free people of color. Virginia's Slave Codes forbade enslaved people from congregating in worship without the supervision of a white pastor; thus, many enslaved people went to the same churches as their owners, though they were relegated to segregated seating in the rear and balcony. With emancipation, African Americans moved quickly to establish their own places of worship and communities within them. Fitting this pattern, First Baptist Church of Loretto, Antioch Baptist Church of Champlain, and Ebenezer Baptist Church of Supply were formed in the late 1860s.[62]

Enslaved people also had no say in the burial of their relatives and friends.[63] The cemeteries for enslaved people were marked only by fieldstones and offerings, such as seashells, bottles, and other items, made by those who remained, but rarely were marked by White enslavers as a burying ground. The vast majority of these types of cemeteries have been lost.[64] Honoring the dead has been intrinsic to human culture for millennia but was not permitted for the enslaved in Virginia and other slaveholding states. Alongside their churches, therefore, most congregations established cemeteries and, in rural areas, many Black landowners had a small family cemetery on their land; the latter practice largely ceased by the mid-20th century with the emergence of the modern funeral industry. The majority of cemeteries for free and enslaved Black people in urban areas, however, either were neglected until they disappeared or were deliberately erased. The latter circumstance happened to both the First and Second African Burial Grounds in Richmond. Both of these cemeteries were clearly identified on 19th-century maps but, by the turn of the 20th century, they had been erased from public records and the sites redeveloped without any care taken to protect the burials. For a much more detailed discussion of erased Black cemeteries in Virginia, see L. Daniel Mouer, et al., Shockoe Hill Burying Ground Historic District," National

Register nomination, February-March 2022, https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2022/03/127-7231_Shockoe_Hill_Burying_Ground_2022_NRHP_FINAL.pdf and Lynn Rainville, *Hidden History: African American Cemeteries in Central Virginia* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2016).

The third pillar in Reconstruction Era communities was a school; the Freedmen's Bureau often partnered with church congregations to establish community schools and it was not unusual for a school to be housed in the same building as the church. Virginia's statewide public education system, established in 1870, was racially segregated from its beginning. Funding for the new school system, however, was far from adequate for the remainder of the 19th century. As circumstances permitted, Black community members would often build a one- or two-room schoolhouse alongside a church to serve as an elementary school. Extant examples of these rural schools are rare, but one such school has been documented at Antioch Baptist Church in the Occupacia-Rappahannock Historic District. Local school districts were supposed to pay salaries for teachers, but this aspect of funding, too, proved far from adequate for Black teachers. Black community members, again, made up the difference by providing free room and boarding to teachers, supplementing their salary, or a combination of these and other tactics.[65]

Throughout the era of segregated public schools, Black communities all across Virginia organized and advocated for their schools. Older generations understood that obtaining education was crucial to improving their own and their children's lives. They repeatedly, skillfully negotiated with local school districts, almost all of which were managed exclusively by White administrators, to steer as much investment as possible toward Black schools. The inherent inequality of racially segregated schools and the continued suppression of Black Virginians' civil rights meant that Black schools received a fraction of public funds compared to White schools throughout the Jim Crow era of segregation. Black communities, in response, organized private fundraisers to purchase equipment for and to maintain their schools. Hundreds of communities also met the requirements of private philanthropic programs, such as the Rosenwald Fund, to obtain grants and other types of support for their schools.[66]

Some rural communities, including those of the Occupacia-Rappahannock Rural Historic District, also established a fourth community pillar – a mutual aid or fraternal organization. The Prince Hall Masonic Order dates back to the American Revolutionary War period, when Black masons were excluded from the masonic orders to which luminaries such as George Washington belonged. For Black Virginians during Reconstruction, fraternal organizations provided a social outlet as well as a community improvement mechanism and a means for pooling resources to aid families and individuals in distress due to unexpected illness, injury, or death. The Grange movement also reached Black farmers during the late 19th century. Although not as pervasive in Virginia as in Midwestern states, the Grange aided farmers with improving agricultural methods and working together to manage agricultural processing and railroad shipping costs, which could be ruinously expensive for small farmers, especially in racially discriminatory situations.

Today, the historic and continued presence of African Americans is evident in the Occupacia-Rappahannock Rural Historic District's cultural landscape. The surviving plantations, including their antebellum mansions, complexes of outbuildings and expansive cultivated fields, are the places where enslaved people labored for generations in the main house, cooking and serving food, changing linens, tending fires, and caring for children, among many other tasks; in the

outbuildings, processing harvested crops, managing and slaughtering livestock, and maintaining farming implements; and in the fields themselves, where wheat, cotton, tobacco, and peanuts were grown as cash crops and large kitchen gardens sustained the enslaving family. Typically abandoned after the Civil War were the complexes of dwellings occupied by enslaved people as well as the small gardens they may have been permitted to tend, and the cemeteries for enslaved people. The district's Black enclaves of Supply, Loretto, and Champlain are associated with the opportunities seized during the Reconstruction Era and maintained through the worst years of Jim Crow segregation, making them historically significant as spaces owned and occupied by Black residents for generations.[67] The Virginia Department of Historic Resources has documentation for numerous similar rural historic landscapes and communities that date to the late 1860s.

In Fredericksburg, still a small town during the Reconstruction Era, physical separation between races was enforced by limiting Black residents to those parts of the city subjected to recurrent flooding by the Rappahannock River. Directly south of downtown, the area known as "the Bottoms" was one of the main places where Black people were expected to make their homes, while higher grounds with pleasant views and summer breezes were reserved for wealthy and middle-class White residents. The Bottoms is located south of the train tracks, which created another barrier between Black and White spaces in Fredericksburg. On the east edge of downtown, the location of the Fredericksburg Baptist Church (Old Site) originally was where an antebellum Baptist church built its first meeting house in 1815. The congregation was composed of White and Black members, the latter of whom included both free and enslaved persons. The site's location may have been due to its riverside setting, as those newly called to Christianity were baptized in the river waters. Due to the site's repeated flooding, the White congregation opted to relocate to higher ground in 1855. The local African Baptist Church purchased the riverfront building and convened there until 1886, when the antebellum sanctuary collapsed due to flood damage. The congregation split when one contingent decided to seek a drier location while another contingent wanted to retain the antebellum site. The Fredericksburg Baptist Church (New Site) and Fredericksburg Baptist Church (Old Site) thus came to be, and the latter completed its current building in 1890. This church would go on to play an important role in twentieth-century civil rights activism. Meanwhile, Shiloh Baptist Church (New Site) stands just south of Libertytown, a post-Civil War neighborhood located southwest of downtown Fredericksburg.[68] The area had been nearly leveled during the Civil War and rebuilding was slow. "By 1900 there were 43 structures, many of which were low- cost housing built for African Americans by Henry Deane, a successful livery owner and real estate developer."[69] Today, both the Bottoms and Libertytown are experiencing gentrification due to their proximity to downtown and longtime Black residents are being priced out.[70]

Unknown numbers of Black Virginians left rural areas in search of better opportunities in cities both within and beyond Virginia.[71] The cities of Norfolk, Newport News, Portsmouth, Hampton, Richmond, and Alexandria were rapidly rebuilding by the 1870s with diversified industrial bases that included heavy manufacturing, shipbuilding, milling, foundries, railroad construction, and tobacco processing. Due to rampant discriminatory practices, most Black men could find employment only in the most difficult, dangerous jobs and often had to accept lower pay than White counterparts. Black women primarily were limited to domestic work in the homes of middle-class and wealthy White families, as well as poorly paying opportunities as seamstresses and washerwomen. Difficult, tedious work in tobacco warehouses, such as

Norfolk's American Cigar Company where women removed stems from tobacco leaves prior to their manufacture into cigars, also was available.[72] In addition to facing discriminatory employment opportunities, however, Black women were highly vulnerable at all times to sexual assault by White employers, workers, and officials. Alongside the inherent danger, the denial of freedom to move from home to workplace and back represented another dimension of the numerous ways Black Virginians were denied their rights to autonomy and independence. Some protection for women could be had through self-employment or work within Black communities. The watermen's communities along the Chesapeake Bay, where Black men plied the waters for oysters and other seafood and Black women worked together in processing facilities, were one such example of landscapes and built environments where the movements of Black Virginians were relatively unencumbered during the late 19th century, although their economic freedom remained curtailed.[73]

Reasserting Control over Public Spaces and Black Virginians

During the summer of 1872, the U.S. Congress closed down the Freedmen's Bureau, largely due to pressure from White elites intent on regaining their local control over African Americans. By 1877, the Reconstruction Era ended due to a political bargain made between White Republicans and Democrats to award the U.S. presidency to Rutherford B. Hayes in exchange for removal of occupying Federal troops from the former Confederate states. After these events, Black Virginians were on their own in a struggle to retain their newly won rights against a White majority bent on returning them to secondary status. At this point, researcher Gretchen Sorin noted, "There [already had been] continuous pushback against African American freedom, but it got much worse. Whites in the South made it very clear that they were not going to permit Black people to have an equal stake in society and they reasserted their White supremacy and by 1877 Reconstruction was over. Many of the positive changes that were made are rolled back and they reinstituted a different kind of slavery."[74]

During the last two decades of the 19th century, historian Thomas Sugrue explained that, in southern states such as Virginia, where labor-intensive crops such as tobacco, cotton, and peanuts were the principal cash crops, the sharecropping system created a cycle of indebtedness that, in essential ways, replicated slavery as a means of tying Black people to White-owned land. In rural Virginia, many freed people became sharecroppers because they could not afford, or were not permitted by White landowners, to purchase land of their own sufficient to support a family. In 1865, U.S. General Sherman's plan for providing each freed person with "40 acres and a mule" had been soundly rejected by the Andrew Johnson administration. Therefore, freed people, who were highly skilled farmers but whose generational wealth had been taken by enslavers for 140 years, had to try to find ways to accumulate enough savings to buy land. Most White landowners sold land to Black people only under financial duress and they generally sold only small tracts that were prone to flooding and erosion, otherwise were undesirable for farming, or simply were too small to generate income needed for a family. Sometimes, Black farmers could split their time by working as laborers on other nearby farms (often those owned by White landowners) or in another rural industry, such as milling or timbering, while also farming their own land. Many, however, often had no option but to become sharecroppers, a system that required tenants to work the land in exchange for a share of the resultant crop. Areas where Virginia's principal cash crops were raised had the highest numbers of sharecroppers. The system inherently was inequitable as Black sharecroppers usually were obligated to acquire seeds

and fertilizers on credit from landowners, who then allowed the sharecropper such a low percentage of the resultant crop or simply underpaid them intentionally, that the line of credit could not be paid off. Sharecroppers thus were forced into an endless cycle of debt in order to provide for their families' housing, food, and clothing. Black farmers became "rooted in place" by their debt, which allowed White landowners to continue to exploit their labor. Lacking ownership of land and dwelling, Black sharecroppers could not even expect privacy within their homes as White landowners, police, and local officials felt entitled to entry at any time.[75] Spencer Crew, Interim Director of the National Museum of African American History and Culture, explained the consequence was that, "very quickly that sense of mobility, that ability to make your own decisions [had] begun to be restricted and controlled."[76]

To tighten their control over Black farmers, especially sharecroppers, White landowners also used crop liens, vagrancy laws, and, once again, policing of roads, among other methods, to control the movements of Black people. Vagrancy laws and policing were used in urban areas, too, to enforce control over Black residents, to contain them in racially segregated areas, and to prevent or manage their movements from one space to another. An African American could be stopped at any time by police and required to explain what they were doing and where they were going. Importantly, these tactics were adopted throughout the U.S., not just in former Confederate states but, as the vast majority of African Americans lived in the South, such methods occurred most often in the former slave states. As railroads proliferated across Virginia, train stations also were heavily policed because of the mobility they offered. Meanwhile, in lieu of slave patrols, for the first few years after the Civil War, Ku Klux Klan and other White gangs patrolled rural areas to terrorize Black communities and appointed themselves to mete out extralegal, or vigilante, justice. The Klan faded after 1870, by which time White elites, including those who had taken up arms against the U.S., began to retake control of local and state governments again.[77] In urban areas, racial segregation of neighborhoods became an increasing priority for White people, even in areas that, before the Civil War, had been more diverse, such as the Mechanicsville neighborhood in the City of Danville.[78]

Important to note is that Black Virginians and the interracial political party known as the "Readjusters" did not quietly acquiesce to reinstitution of a White supremacist political, legal, and social order. Yet the violence and risk endemic to racialized public spaces was inescapable and the lessons imparted were tragic for many Black Virginians. As an example, in 1883 in Danville, a dispute within a public space led to a mob of White men shooting into a crowd of unarmed Black men, women, and children. As Jane Dailey explains, "Although the racial politics of Congress and the state legislatures are better documented, the streets of the urban South had a politics of their own. It was here, in the everyday pushing and shoving of white and black southerners, that broader questions of political, economic, and sexual competition were enacted and represented daily."[79] In a way they found particularly personal, White southerners most were offended by how Black people had lost the "amiable and gentle manners" that their enslaved ancestors had displayed, whether it be giving way on a public sidewalk to a White person's passage, comporting themselves with "modesty" and decorum, or avoiding, at all costs, physical contact between a White woman and a Black man. Underlying such offense was a belief that public spaces belonged to White people much as their parlors and bedchambers did. Furthermore, Black people who expected to be called "sir" or "madam" were not merely requesting to be addressed in the typical fashion of the period; "they did more than assert themselves – they demanded whites' *affirmation* of African American civil equality."[80] The

term "civil," in this usage, refers to civil rights and equality under the law as well as the "civility" of treating people with respect and good manners.

The Danville Riot of 1883

In Danville, Republican Readjusters had won control of the city council in November 1882, in part due to the Virginia General Assembly, then briefly dominated by Readjusters, which had mandated that cities be divided into wards with one council member per ward to serve on the city council. The change from at-large election of councilmembers was intended to enfranchise Black voters, who might comprise a substantial percentage of a city's population but still were a minority in overall numbers. As Jane Dailey summarizes, in October 1883 during state election campaigns for delegates and senators, the local Democratic party published a pamphlet, *Coalition Rule in Danville*, which complained of deterioration in public life due to the addition of Black police officers and magistrates to municipal law enforcement, unfair competitive practices of Black vendors at the public market, and the "impropriety" of Black people when interacting with White people.[81]

Within this increasingly tense environment, on November 3, 1883, an incident occurred that, even at the time, was not clearly understood or recorded. A White man and two Black men encountered one another on a sidewalk. Reportedly displeased by how the situation unfolded, Charles D. Noel, a White man, struck Davis Llewellyn, who defended himself. Although the three men then left the scene, a brawl among White and Black men in the same area almost immediately broke out. Both White and Black police officers reached the scene and attempted to restore order. They were overwhelmed by crowds of angry men and, again for reasons that are unclear, several White men shot into the crowd of Black people, leaving four Black men and a White man mortally wounded and prompting almost everyone else to flee the scene. Within a few hours, armed White men had organized a "local militia" to patrol the streets with the stated purpose of ensuring the peace. Through the night, gunfire was heard in Black neighborhoods.[82] The rapid coalition of a "local militia" had direct historical corollaries to the slavery era's vigilantes who could demand to see the "free papers" of any person of color, the slave patrols who undertook nightly searches for any enslaved person away from their enslaver's plantation or dwelling, and slave catchers who pursued freedom seekers into non-slaveholding states; the Ku Klux Klan gangs of the immediate post-Civil War years also were within this vein. Men who participated in such groups acted on the assumption that all places were subject to White control and policing and that any White man had the right to exert this control over Black people and the places owned and occupied by Black communities. The events in Danville, therefore, quickly provided political fodder for Democrats, who blamed the violence entirely on Black people who had attempted to get out of their assigned "place" in the social order. A subsequent investigation by the City-appointed "Committee of 40," which was dominated by White Democrats and included only one Black person, concluded that the City's Black population had instigated the violence; a later investigation carried out by a U.S. Senate committee came to the opposite conclusion. As noted by Brendan Wolfe, the principal lesson learned from the riot was explicated by a local newspaper writer,

> Edward Pollock, the author of the *Illustrated Sketch Book of Danville, Virginia*, designed to promote business in the town and published in 1885[. He] was more explicit about what that lesson was. "Another important result of the Riot," he

wrote, "was the complete change which at once took place in the deportment of the negroes towards their white neighbors. Those who had formerly been most insolent in their conduct now became polite and respectful, ready to yield all reasonable deference to their natural superiors, and to resume, contentedly, their own legitimate position in the social scale."[83]

Creating Opportunities in Urban Areas

Notwithstanding the events in Danville, late-19th-century circumstances in Virginia's cities still offered more varied opportunities for Black Virginians than could be had in rural areas.[84] In each of the state's urban areas, Black neighborhoods were established and Black-owned businesses sprang up to provide the goods and services to Black customers that White-owned businesses could or would not. Populations of free African Americans had settled in each of Virginia's cities prior to the Civil War and, often, these individuals became the backbone of a growing middle-class in Black neighborhoods. Richmond's Jackson Ward, designated a National Historic Landmark in 1978, is among Virginia's most famous such neighborhoods; although exceptional, the types of opportunities in Jackson Ward were available in other cities, such as Norfolk, Petersburg, and Alexandria. Both enslaved laborers and free people of color had lived in what became Jackson Ward prior to the Civil War. As racial segregation deepened during the late-19th century, Jackson Ward became a predominantly Black neighborhood. The city's robust industrial rebound during the 1870s-1880s created employment opportunities for freed people and, in response, Black entrepreneurs opened restaurants, theaters, and retail shops to sell entertainment and essential goods to their neighbors. Although cut off from all aspects of White society, including economic, financial, educational, political, and civic processes, these entrepreneurs capitalized on the opportunities available to them. Over time, a Black middle class developed in Richmond and other cities. With newly available schools up through college now open, albeit segregated and often poorly funded, Black men and women became physicians, lawyers, teachers, nurses, ministers, business owners, writers, artists, and architects, to name a few professions, and many of them dedicated themselves to improving conditions in their communities. Mutual aid and benevolent societies also proliferated as Black residents pooled resources to provide for one another's needs, particularly burial expenses and aid to families when heads of households were unemployed due to illness or injury. In an era almost entirely lacking in publicly funded social services and workplace safety protections, and when Black men worked the most dangerous jobs, injuries were commonplace and could be ruinous to families left to cope on their own.[85]

Three entrepreneurs in Jackson Ward stood out for the successes of their endeavors as well as their community-oriented businesses. John R. Mitchell Jr. was a newspaper publisher and editor, politician, banker, and civil rights activist. He served on Richmond's City Council from 1888-1896, during the waning years when Black people held such positions. In 1901, he founded the Mechanics Savings Bank. His newspaper, the *Richmond Planet*, provided widespread coverage of news important to Black residents, including republishing stories from elsewhere about Black people's successes and accomplishments. He also wrote numerous editorials and issued the occasional call to arms to advocate for the rights of Black people, which earned him the nickname "the Fighting Editor." Perhaps most importantly, Mitchell was a leader in the antilynching movement, which is discussed more below.[86] Maggie Lena Walker is widely

known as the first African American woman to found and become president of a chartered bank in the United States. Her St. Luke Penny Savings Bank, remains in operation today, now as the Consolidated Bank and Trust Company in Richmond.[87] During the late-19ᵗʰ century, through her financial acumen, Walker transformed the small Independent Order of St. Luke, a benevolent society, into a major organization engaged in numerous socially-oriented enterprises, including a newspaper, printing press, educational fund, retail store, and bank. Walker's gracious 1883 residence, designated a National Historic Site in 1978, was a sacrosanct space that she customized to her specific preferences and taste and was where she hosted local civil rights activists, Black entrepreneurs, and her own growing family. Similarly, the Independent Order of St. Luke Building housed Walker's offices as well as the St. Luke Penny Savings Bank and the organization's newspaper. Employees as well as Jackson Ward's community members frequented the building, and the property also hosted community events. Walker navigated the stock market crash of 1929 and subsequent onset of the Great Depression without having to close either the St. Luke Penny Savings Bank or the Independent Order of St. Luke. News of her death in 1934 was spread far beyond Virginia and she was recognized as one of the most important Black leaders of the early 20ᵗʰ century.[88] Finally, William Washington Brown founded the Ground Fountain of the United Order of True Reformers in 1881. The fraternal organization became one of the largest Black-owned enterprises in the U.S. up through 1910. Along with sick and death benefits, Brown catered to Jackson Ward's growing middle class by offering banking and real estate services as well as a retirement home and an educational arm for teaching children business skills. Brown himself became a controversial figure due to his bank's failure, but the impact of his fraternal organization was enduring as he helped to establish community leaders in Jackson Ward who themselves went on to successful careers.[89]

"Separate But Equal" and the Jim Crow Era in Virginia

In 1896, the U.S. Supreme Court delivered to White supremacists a major victory with their decision in the *Plessy* v. *Ferguson* legal case. Introducing the doctrine of "separate but equal" in constitutional law, the court ruled that separate (segregated) public accommodations could be made among Americans based on race. Southern states began to restructure their laws to include "separate but equal" provisions, and most rewrote their constitutions accordingly, thus erasing most of the gains made by Black Americans during Reconstruction. Virginia's 1902 constitution included provisions that were synonymous with the legal framework that came to be known as "Jim Crow" segregation. Poll taxes and literacy tests were introduced in order to disenfranchise Black voters and poor White voters who could not afford the new tax and/or did not know how to read. The 1902 constitution also formalized what had been merely customary since 1870, which was racial segregation in public schools. Importantly, the new constitution was not voted upon by the general public. Instead, it was approved at a constitutional convention dominated by White elites who had little interest in the needs and preferences of either Black or poor White residents.[90] As Eric Avila, author of *The Folklore of the Freeway,* explained in the documentary film, *Driving While Black,* the "most powerful instrument to restrict the mobility of African Americans in the aftermath of the Civil War was Jim Crow segregation, designating White space from Black space to prevent the interaction of White and Black and to restrict the mobility of African Americans."[91] White people asserted once again that they rightfully occupied the highest level in social hierarchy and everyone else was at a lower level. Therefore, Jim Crow laws existed throughout the United States, not just places with large numbers of Black

residents. The ideology emphasized that people who were White were superior, while taking away the human dignity and respect of all other Americans in public spaces and when traveling.[92]

In places where Jim Crow was the law of the land, White authorities exerted considerable energy and minute attention to detail in dividing all public spaces. The long list of segregated spaces in Virginia encompassed schools from the elementary through university level, including facilities for deaf and blind students, public libraries, hospitals, retirement and nursing homes, mental hospitals, orphanages, prisons and juvenile detention facilities, cemeteries, parks, train stations, restaurants, hotels, streetcars, trains and train stations, service stations, beaches, theaters, music halls, retail shops, and any other public-serving space that conceivably could be approached by a Black person.[93]

In many instances, existing buildings readily accommodated racially separate spaces, in part because such separation long had been the norm to keep enslaved people separated from White enslavers; hidden passages and back staircases in the homes of wealthy White slaveowners, for instance, allowed enslaved Black workers to perform their duties while having minimal contact with White residents and guests. Provision of quarters, often minimal, for sleeping in the same spaces where work was performed, such as basement kitchens and on the floor in an enslaver's chamber, or in separate buildings such as detached kitchens, wash houses, and other domestic necessities, also enforced separation in both status and reduced potential for interactions. Finally, for work that required large numbers of laborers, both enslaved and free, distinct residential enclaves were permitted to exist. In Fredericksburg, a neighborhood at the intersection of Pitt and Charles Streets, at the time beyond Fredericksburg's downtown, provided housing for Black workers engaged in building the Rappahannock Canal during the 1840s. The neighborhood continued to be occupied primarily by African Americans for well over a century, long after slavery ended but throughout the Jim Crow era of segregation.[94]

Post-Reconstruction architectural adaptations, moreover, often were as simple as labeling a rear door as the "colored" entrance or an elevator in an office building as the "Negroes and freight" elevator. For even more rigid racial separation, refusing entry to Black people was a common remedy. Some businesses, such as restaurants and bars, hedged such separation by selling food and drinks to Black customers from their back doors, which enabled them to benefit from the extra revenue while maintaining racial separation according to the dictates of the era. Finally, by offering no alternate accommodations of any kind, a space, by default, became a Whites-only building, such as local public libraries that had no segregated branch locations.[95]

Richard Weyeneth examined segregated public spaces during the Jim Crow Era and reported his findings in his 2005 article, "The Architecture of Racial Segregation: The Challenges of Preserving the Problematical Past." His analyses of numerous types of public buildings and landscapes in South Carolina and other formerly segregated places bought him to the conclusion that "the architecture of racial segregation represented an effort to design places that shaped the behavior of individuals and, thereby, managed contact between whites and blacks in general. African Americans were the group targeted by these architectural initiatives and on whom segregationist architecture was imposed, but whites were also expected to follow the rules in their use of these spaces."[96]

Within the restrictions and limitations of Jim Crow laws, however, Weyeneth argued that the Black business districts in cities, such as the aforementioned Jackson Ward in Richmond, represented opportunities for Black Americans to escape the suffocating rigidity of segregation. As places where Black-owned businesses served Black customers, such districts represented the creative and entrepreneurial energies of Black people and proactively used alternative spatial strategies to those found in the White-owned areas. Weyeneth stated, "The black business district was a cornerstone of African-American life during Jim Crow, and the key to its success was the ability of merchants to provide goods and services denied blacks in white establishments." [97]

Personal services ranked as an area most in demand by Black consumers, who sought beauticians, barbers, dressmakers, tailors, shoe stores, drug stores, funeral homes, and grocery stores. They also wanted to obtain these services in welcoming atmospheres where their needs and preferences were understood by retailers. Even in small towns, many of these kinds of goods and services could be had from people working from their homes or in small shops attached to their dwelling. Larger cities had a greater range of offerings. Thus, for example, stylists at a Black-owned salon would be well-versed in Madame C. J. Walker's hair care and straightener products that were designed for Black hair and would have been unheard of in a White-owned salon. Barbers, drug stores, and salons would carry the toiletry products, cosmetics, and perfumes made by the nationally successful, Black-owned Overtown Hygienic Manufacturing Company. Large business districts also often offered entertainment options, such as movie theaters, dance halls, auditoriums, lecture halls, as well as hotels for traveling performers and speakers. Professional services, including banking, life insurance, dentistry, and medicine, soon became available in cities and in some larger towns. Churches, schools, lodge halls of fraternal and sororal orders, and benevolent societies completed the typical milieu within Black business districts and neighborhoods in cities and towns across Virginia.[98] In addition to offering necessary services and products, the significance of Black business districts included the knowledge among Black residents that they could move about freely, that they could enter any business and would be served, and that the built environment was owned or at least occupied by Black people like them. Especially in the former Confederate states, such as Virginia, where slavery had endured for so long and had finally ended so recently, the psychological benefits of occupying spaces that generally were away from Whites' control made it possible to imagine futures that were even more unencumbered. In Virginia's cities, in addition to the Jackson Ward Historic District in Richmond, examples of historic Black business districts were documented in the National Register nominations for the Downtown Danville Historic, the Halifax Triangle Historic District in Petersburg, and the Fayette Street Historic District in Martinsville.

Perhaps for these same reasons, White officials, meanwhile, assured that spaces designated by law for non-Whites were inferior in quality, character, and amenities. Thus, trains, which originally had been a means of expressing one's freedom of movement, became a place of social subjugation regardless of a Black passenger's financial means. Kathleen Franz noted, "If you're a black traveler, you don't get to just buy your ticket and get on a train and enjoy it and go where you want to go. Or get on the bus and go where you want to go. It is fraught at every turn. Will you be safe? Will you be harassed? And people just get tired of it."[99] Elaborating on the purpose and effect of Jim Crow segregation, Eric Avila described W. E. B. DuBois's theory of the "wages of Whiteness," which meant that White identity was constructed in a way to monopolize access to certain opportunities and spaces. "By creating that hierarchy and by creating policies of exclusion and segregation, it did effect a kind of psychic wage to be White

and to know that you did enjoy certain freedoms and certain access that other groups of people did not."[100] The ideology also eased class tensions among White people at a time when elite Whites went to great lengths to emphasize class differences by requiring first, second, and coach class in train and ship accommodations. Black Virginians, however, regardless of their financial status, could occupy only those racialized spaces that White people had deemed appropriate. Thus, separate accommodations allowed any White person to say, "I'm White. I might be poor. I might not own any land. I too might be a sharecropper. But I'm White and these people are not White and that is the line [between us]."[101]

Additional effects of Jim Crow laws were manifested across Virginia landscapes in myriad ways that went beyond segregated neighborhoods. While rapid technological advances brought modern infrastructure to White business districts and neighborhoods, including telephones, electricity, public water and sewers, and paved streets and sidewalks, Black neighborhoods often were overlooked by local governments dominated by Whites.[102] An example of such a neighborhood is Westwood in Richmond's suburban "West End" area. Founded in 1876 by emancipated African Americans, the Westwood community took root around the Westwood Baptist Church. Although numerous suburban developments (all restricted to White residents) were built all around Westwood between the late nineteenth to mid-twentieth century, the City of Richmond did not extend utilities and infrastructure to Westwood itself, even as the adjacent neighborhoods received them.[103]

As mentioned above, the ward system for electing city council members had been created to provide Black people with better representation, but disenfranchisement of Black voters in 1902 meant that few of them, such as Westwood's property owners, saw their interests represented by elected officials. Likewise, the inequality of representation also translated to inequality before the law, despite the post-Civil War constitutional amendments that recognized Black Americans' citizenship and due process rights. Inequality before the law also, by definition, included inequality in terms of protection by the law and methods of law enforcement.[104] Taken altogether, these factors made, according to historians and civil rights activists, Jim Crow "the story of violence and the threat of violence, which can be just as potent as the acts of violence themselves. [It creates] a sense of bodily insecurity that … an African American [has] in large parts of the American landscape…"[105]

One example of such insecurity was "sundown towns," a phenomenon researched extensively by James Loewen, a historian and sociologist whose research sought "to link physically violent forms of racism with legal and social stratagems" that Whites used to enforce segregation. According to his analyses of census data from 1880-1960, reviews of materials collected by the Federal Writers' Project during the 1930s, and research of historical newspapers, sundown towns existed across the U.S.[106] Richard Weyeneth also referenced sundown towns in his 2005 analysis of racially segregated architecture and public spaces. In such towns, Black people were permitted to work or shop during the day, but knew to depart the town before dusk.[107] Whether a particular town or locality considered itself a "sundown town" rarely is definitively proven with written records, as such exclusionary tactics were enforced much more often by unwritten practices of social control than by local ordinances.

In Virginia, another variation on spatial separation involved the placement of a small enclave of Black dwellings just outside incorporated town limits; this arrangement continues to be a

visually discernible feature of rural landscapes across the Commonwealth. While the spatial separation is not by any means always indicative of a sundown town, the exclusion of Black settlements from corporate limits meant that town governments were not obligated to extend any services or infrastructure to the Black residents. Additionally, the political boundary provided another means of emphasizing separation of Black from White people and of limiting opportunities for representation in local government because, in Virginia, county residents elect only a board of supervisors, while town residents elect a town council and participate in county elections. Examples of these different types of separation are found in the Clifton Forge Residential Historic District in Alleghany County, the Courtland Historic District in Southampton County, and the Town of Surry Historic District in Surry County.

Additional Strategies for Enforcing Racial Segregation

As mentioned above, racial segregation in Virginia's rural areas, towns, and cities was enforced through real estate practices as well. Although the U.S. Supreme Court had introduced "separate but equal" to American law, the nine justices had limited tolerance for certain tactics they perceived to curtail property rights. An example is the 1917 *Buchanan v. Warley* decision, which found that a racially restrictive zoning ordinance in Louisville, Kentucky, violated the due process clause of the 14th Amendment because it infringed on the ability of White and Black people to enter into contracts with one another, such as through sale of real estate. The Court's decision, however, focused merely on property rights, not on the question of equal protection under the law.[108] Moving on from racial zoning ordinances to separate Black and White people, White developers, lenders, and property owners turned to racially restrictive covenants that restricted sales of property to certain property owners, including based on race, ethnicity, and/or religion. Because the covenants were placed in deeds transferring ownership from one property owner to another, rather than being a law or ordinance passed by a municipality, this method was thought to pass constitutional muster. Although the first such covenants were put in place as early as 1911, the Supreme Court did not weigh in on the matter until 1948, when its *Shelley v. Kraemer* decision outlawed the practice. In Williamsburg, the College Terrace Historic District is just one of hundreds of neighborhoods throughout Virginia where such covenants were included in deeds of sale.[109]

Architectural and Design Interventions to Create Segregated Spaces

During the Jim Crow era, Blacks and White people were expected to inhabit completely separate physical spaces throughout their daily lives. To accomplish this, outright exclusion of Black people from some spaces, such as "Whites Only" signage on a restroom, restaurant door, or theater entry, occurred throughout Virginia and other places where segregation was enforced. Often such signage was redundant as Black people understood that the vast majority of "public" space, by function, intention, and design, in reality was set aside for use only by Whites.[110] Publicly-funded libraries, parks, and schools that only White people could use were common examples throughout Virginia. In Richmond, William Byrd Park was a Whites-only park from the moment of its opening in 1874 into the 1960s. Although no local ordinance has been found that mandated the park's use only by White residents, the swimming pool, ballfields, tennis courts, playground, and shaded grounds were not welcoming to Black people.[111] The exclusion of local Black residents from the park's tennis courts later became notorious due to the career and legacy of Richmond native, professional athlete, and humanitarian Arthur Ashe.

Denied opportunities for coaching and competition in Richmond, Ashe joined Dr. Robert Walter Johnson's private tennis club in Lynchburg, another segregated city in Virginia. A surgeon and civil rights activist, however, Johnson had the means to build his own tennis court on the same property as his house and to establish a summer training camp for Black children, including paying all the necessary expenses for each player. In addition to Ashe, Johnson mentored South Carolina native Althea Gibson, who also went on to an illustrious professional tennis career. Both Byrd Park and Johnson's dwelling and tennis court are historically significant places and represent the duality of physical spaces typical of the Jim Crow period: publicly-funded places for White people and privately-funded places for Black citizens.[112] Johnson's approach was in keeping with the "avoidance" strategy that many African Americans used to minimize indignities imposed by racialized space. Other avoidance strategies included avoiding use of public streetcars by walking as much as possible and frequenting a business or entertainment venue during designated hours set aside for Black patrons.[113]

Another well-documented method identified by Weyeneth and other scholars for maintaining racial segregation was through duplication, such as Virginia's racially segregated public school system that required separate schools for White, Black, and Native American children. Because of disparities in funding for the segregated spaces, however, "parallel architectural universes" were built throughout the Jim Crow states with each race intended to be confined to its assigned spaces.[114] Schools were among the spaces that purportedly met the "separate but equal" standard established by the Supreme Court's *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision. Analysis of local and state government records demonstrates that rarely was the "equal" part of the doctrine met. As explained in the multiple property documentation form, Rosenwald Schools in Virginia (012-5041), public investment in schools for Black children throughout the former slaveholding states had been inadequate since the Civil War. Booker T. Washington, founder of the Tuskegee Institute and civil rights activist, conceived of a program for building standardized school buildings using private philanthropic sources. Following a successful pilot project from 1904-1909 with Standard Oil, Washington met with wealthy businessman Julius Rosenwald, who he persuaded to fund another phase of school construction. Their partnership was both a resounding success and damning evidence of the innately unequal schools that Black children were provided during the Jim Crow era. Architects at the Tuskegee Institute created the first set of standardized plans, along with guidance on their siting, orientation to the sun, and construction methods, as well as landscaping plans for the school grounds, and Rosenwald established the private Julius Rosenwald Fund. The Tuskegee Institute-Rosenwald Fund partnership "aided in the construction of 5,357 schools in 883 counties across 15 southern states," including 381 in Virginia.[115]

Due to the inadequacies of the "separate but equal" approach, Weyeneth summarized that, "as public policy, duplication represented a feeble nod in the direction of providing "separate but equal" facilities that were emphatically separate and never equal.[116] With generations of experience of making the most of limited resources, however, African Americans took great pride in their schools. National Register nominations for dozens of historic Black schools across Virginia include recollections of students, teachers, and parents who emphasized that their schools had been places of challenge and empowerment. Of the dozens of historic Black schools currently listed in the Virginia Landmarks Register and National Register, two examples are the Carver-Price and Chatsworth schools. In Appomattox County, the Carver-Price School today houses the Carver-Price Legacy Museum, which is funded and maintained by the Carver-Price Alumni Association.[117] The Chatsworth School, located in Henrico County's Reconstruction

Era community Antioch, also is a museum today; after closing as a segregated school in 1956, the building was purchased and maintained by a local family until it was acquired by the Antioch Baptist Church for use as a community resource due to its proximity to the Virginia Capital multi-use trail and the Richmond Slave Trail.[118]

At times, racial segregation was more of a performative act meant to placate White supremacists. Weyeneth cites the example of railroad car "665" built for the Louisville & Nashville Railroad in 1913. The car featured a central baggage compartment with flanking passenger seating and toilets. White passengers always occupied the front seating area. Because the car itself, however, maintained the same position on the tracks, the "front" area changed based on which way the train traveled along its regular route. Similar cars were designed for other railroad companies that operated routes through segregated states such as Virginia.[119] Due to its significant association with the Jim Crow era, Car 665 was listed in the National Register in 1997.[120]

In his analysis of the architectural aspects of racial segregation, Weyeneth found another performative aspect because, "Over time, architects developed design 'formulas' for partitioning the races for a variety of projects, such as office buildings, courthouses, government offices, and medical facilities, among others."[121] Intended to impose White supremacy throughout the built environment, these "formulas" were fairly routine in execution, such as inclusion of separate entrances, offices, wings, and other spaces in buildings. Their purpose, however, as "monuments to an effort at social engineering in which the concepts of architectural isolation and architectural partitioning were intended to manage racial contact," makes them distinctive in the overall architectural history of Virginia and the other segregated states because "racial ideology influenced design form."[122]

Examples of Virginia's formulaic architectural methods for satisfying segregation requirements include the DAW Theater in Tappahannock, which had a segregated balcony where African Americans were expected to sit, but also offered Black-only events including movies featuring Black actors, women's club meetings, health screenings, and other events.[123] In Roanoke, after two decades of sustained effort by local African American leaders to persuade the City to appropriate funding for a segregated public library, a branch building was completed in the Black neighborhood of Gainsboro in 1942, just a few months prior to U.S. entry into World War II.[124] Built in 1946, the Petersburg Trailways Bus Station used the "isolation" and "partitioning" methods identified by Weyeneth to maintain racial separation. The building's main entrance opened to the Whites-only waiting room, while a side entrance opened to the smaller waiting room for African Americans. Adjacent to the White waiting room was a lunch counter, which could not be accessed from the waiting room for Black passengers. Instead, they had to order food through the back door of the kitchen and eat their food outside.[125] Fredericksburg's Mary Washington Hospital, built in 1949, included a segregated upper floor where all Black patients stayed regardless of the ailment or injury that had brought them to the facility; the remaining four floors were for White patients. In Danville, the 1957 Doctors Building did not have separate entrances for White and Black people to use, making it one of just a handful of publicly-accessible buildings in the city that did not enforce segregation in this fashion. The interior, however, included segregated waiting areas and, although the examination rooms were not segregated (likely due to the expense such duplication would have entailed), White patients typically were seen first.[126]

Interestingly, the post-1900 architecture of segregation began shortly before the Modern Movement's origins in Europe after World War I. Seeking to eschew the historical influences that long had prevailed upon European architecture, Modernists sought to strip architecture to its essential, functional essence by deploying new materials and emerging technologies without application of traditional decorative idioms. In Virginia, meanwhile, the Colonial Revival movement already had been popular since the 1880s and became a cultural phenomenon with the massive restoration of "colonial" Williamsburg that began during the 1920s. The tensions between modernity, widespread embrace of modern technology, and nostalgia for a "purer" colonial past played out in Virginia through architectural design as well as cultural and social trends, such as automobile travel and tourism, which became increasingly important during the 20th century. Given its complexity and historical importance, the interplay of architecture, Modernism, and the Colonial Revival movement warrants further study.

Personal Mobility in Spite of Jim Crow: Bicycles, Good Roads, and Automobiles

Importantly, the beginning of the Jim Crow era coincided with a time of rapid change in the United States brought on by accelerating industrialization and a dizzying array of advancements in the fields of medicine, physics, industrial technology, transportation, and communications. In 1896, alongside the *Plessy v. Ferguson* legal case's establishment of "separate but equal" in American law, natural radioactivity was observed for the first time, the first radio was patented, mathematical computations of alternating current circuits were developed, and the first experiments to prove the divisibility of atoms were carried out. The pace and magnitude of the changes occurring throughout the world had barely begun to be grasped, but these and a rapid succession of other breakthroughs would completely transform American life within just a few decades.

Among the most distinctive aspects of modern American life, real and perceived, is mobility. During the 1880s, "safety" bicycles with chain drives, brakes, and two equally-sized, inflated rubber tires transformed popular understanding of mobility.[127] Personalized in a way that trains and steamships functionally could not be, bicycles allowed a person to set off on a trip at the time and place of their choosing and to continue on, stop, or turn around as they preferred. For the most part, in the U.S. and in Virginia, bicycles were the property of middle-class and wealthy White people. Their numbers and political influence kicked off the "Good Roads" movement that propelled more widespread public investments in roads. Prior to this time in Virginia, waterways, canals, and railroads had received the majority of local and state investments in transportation improvements. Bicycles, popular as they were, ultimately paled in comparison to the mid-1890s development of the two-stroke, gasoline-powered automobile by Charles Edgar and Frank Duryea, whose Duryea Motor Wagon Company was the first American gasoline-powered car manufacturer.[128]

Early Road Construction in Virginia

Road construction in Virginia began during the colonial period, at which time county governments were granted authority to approve construction of new roads while property owners along the route were expected to contribute labor for its construction and maintenance. Enslaved African American laborers completed much of the work. After the American Revolution, the Virginia General Assembly passed its first legislation concerning roads in 1785, an "Act for

Keeping Certain Roads in Repair," which permitted tolls on some roads. A decade later, the General Assembly authorized private turnpike companies to undertake road construction. In 1816, the General Assembly established the Board of Public Works and a Fund for Internal Improvement to oversee the turnpike projects. The turnpikes were generally the first professionally engineered roads built in Virginia. Claudius Crozet, who served as Principal Engineer of Virginia between 1823-1831, contributed significantly to the design of the Commonwealth's earliest turnpikes. An influential early project under Crozet's supervision was the Fauquier & Alexandria Turnpike from Fauquier County to Alexandria. Although much of the turnpike alignment was buried or abandoned as transportation needs evolved between the two localities, an extant segment in the Buckland Historic District, alongside US Route 29/15 corridor, has been identified. Under Criterion D, this road segment was found to be nationally significant due to its research potential in understanding the design and construction methods of the turnpike period.[129] Extant turnpike segments that still follow significant portions of their historic alignments while being updated for automobile use are Snickersville Turnpike, for which construction began in 1810, and Georgetown Pike, for which construction began in 1813; the historic segments of both routes are listed in the Virginia Landmarks Register and National Register.

Although private turnpikes remained in use for much of the 19th century, the reliance on private companies to build roads proved to be inadequate to Virginia's growing surface transportation needs. Many turnpike companies failed due to inadequate revenues from tolls. Widespread destruction of roads and bridges during the Civil War made continued toll road operations difficult, if not impossible. In 1866, the General Assembly authorized county governments to assume ownership of abandoned turnpikes and other local roads. Most county governments, however, lacked the resources to manage repairs and rebuilding on the scale that was necessary. Railroad construction throughout the late 19th century alleviated some of the most urgent transportation needs, but only localities alongside or in close proximity to a railroad stop benefitted.[130]

The Good Roads Movement in Virginia

The Good Roads movement finally convinced politicians and policymakers that roads, too, warranted sustained public attention and investment. Alongside the inventions of the telephone and lightbulb and construction of public water and sewer systems, bicycles and roads brought the outlines of modern American metropolitan life into being. In 1888, Richmond's new electric streetcar system introduced another new transportation mode, also reliant on well-maintained streets and bridges. Federal involvement in road construction began in 1893 with congressional authorization of the Office of Road Inquiry under the Secretary of Agriculture with the mission of collecting information about road construction methods and the condition of the nation's road systems. In Virginia, the first Good Roads association formed in 1894 at the behest of the Young Business Men's League of Roanoke. [131]

In 1904, the Virginia General Assembly began with new legislation to regulate construction of roads and bridges. The same year, a new hydroelectric power station on Belle Isle in the James River began providing electricity to Richmond's electric trolley system. Two years later, the State Highway Commission was established. Made up of professional engineers, the commission's stated purpose was "to maintain, operate, and construct the primary system of

highways around the Commonwealth," but its role was advisory while local governments still bore responsibility for the actual construction and maintenance of roads.[132] The General Assembly passed additional legislation to allow a "state convict road force" as a source of road-building labor. The statute stated that the road force would include prisoners convicted of a crime and sentenced to hard labor as well as people imprisoned for nonpayment of fines.[133] The looseness of the latter category meant that poor people of all races could be assigned to road forces alongside those convicted of felonies. As with the earlier vagrancy laws, the 1906 legislation also presented a means for incarcerating Black men in order to utilize their labor, without payment, for public construction projects. The new state highway commission's first annual report in 1907 acknowledged that reliance on convict labor had been criticized "from several quarters," and added that a dearth of workers with expertise in road-building made the construction projects more difficult. In a refrain that would quickly become continual, the commission also lamented the inadequacy of public funds available to pay for much-needed road projects.[134]

Over the next decade, the rapid proliferation of personal automobiles and trucks prompted additional actions at the state and federal levels. The General Assembly made Virginia's first appropriation of state funds for road construction in 1908 and directed local governments to levy personal and property taxes for road projects. The first law concerning speed of automobiles passed in 1910, by which time 2,705 automobiles were owned across the Commonwealth; that number ballooned to more than 10,000 over the next three years and stood at 37,000 by 1916, the same year that the first Federal Aid Road Act passed Congress in 1916. Virginia's first federal allocation amount came to $100,000. Two years later, the General Assembly legislated the creation of a state highway system, consisting of 4,002 miles of roads in widely varying states of improvement, and reauthorized use of a convict labor system for road construction; this time, however, the state prisoners could be assigned only to projects in the new state highway system. Local governments could continue to utilize prisoners in local jails as convict road labor.[135]

World War I impeded the rapid development of Virginia's road network but had less impact on automobile ownership, as 145,340 motor vehicles were registered in Virginia in 1920. The first gasoline tax to fund road improvements was approved by the General Assembly in 1923 to create a "pay as you go" method for new construction projects. Virginia's voters rejected a bond referendum to pay for such projects and the gasoline tax thereafter became the principal financing method for road construction. The federal government approved a federal tax for the same purpose. In 1927, a reorganization of state government included creation of the Department of Highways to manage the Commonwealth's rapidly expanding state highway network. [136]

African Americans' Experiences with Early Automobiles

During the 1910s, with industrialist Henry Ford's Ford Motor Company leading the way, Black workers were hired in the burgeoning auto industry, but only for the most backbreaking, dangerous work in foundries and for tasks such as engine lifting. Such jobs, nevertheless, were desirable among Black workers because of the higher pay that accompanied them. The growing automobile industry, therefore, became a magnet for Black people who, at that time, were leaving the former slaveholding states as part of the Great Migration to seek better employment opportunities in the heavy industries of northern and midwestern states. The pay rates in the auto industry not only were higher, Black workers earned as much as 90 cents on the dollar compared

to White employees, a near-parity found rarely, if at all, in southern states. Through the automotive industry, Black families now had a pathway to middle-class life.[137]

Mass production of automobiles created markets for both new and used cars by the 1920s. By the late 1920s, the ratio of automobiles to Americans stood at one car to every five people and, for those who could afford to do so, the variety of automobile manufacturers and models offered ample reasons to purchase a new car on a regular basis. For working class Americans, used cars became increasingly available. Kathleen Franz, Curator of American Religious History at Smithsonian National Museum of American History, explained, "If you're an African American and you can afford a car, even if it's a used car, it provides a powerful alternative to the daily indignities of riding the rails, of riding a streetcar, of riding a bus."[138] Thus, movement on the open road became synonymous with a chance for a better life, although many White southerners, particularly men, did not experience cars the same way because they already had complete freedom of movement.

Opportunities to avoid segregated, dehumanizing, humiliating experiences while still traveling through spaces and landscapes controlled by White authorities had been removed from railroad travel after the *Plessy v. Ferguson* Supreme Court decision in 1896. Car ownership restored this freedom. Additionally, automobiles offered the millions of Black Americans who had moved to other parts of the country a convenient way to travel back to the South to visit relatives for weddings, funerals, family reunions, and church homecomings, without having to expose their children to the indignities of Jim Crow railcars. Some Black Americans used their automobiles as evidence to argue with skeptical relatives that life away from the South was better. For the sake of family, in short, Alvin Hall, creator and host of the *Driving the Green Book* podcast, said, "Despite knowing the risk of going back to the South, you still wanted to go back."[139] Beyond being merely status symbols, a car reflected how a person wanted to be perceived; for Black drivers, this included achievement of material success, independence, and autonomy. With the personal freedom made possible by car ownership, a person could leave wherever they were for anyplace they chose to seek better circumstances, without being beholden to the indignities of streetcar, railroad, steamboat, and other types of transportation. The automobile, therefore, came to loom large in Black culture. Moreover, the rapidly expanding network of highways became one of the few public spaces where people of all races traveled simultaneously without the clear racial and class divisions of other forms of transportation.[140] Even car travel, however, came with ample risks along with its rewards.

Travel Craft

In places where Jim Crow was embedded in the law and landscape, Black travelers met with a range of challenges that went beyond every automobile traveler's need for gas, food, and lodging. While White travelers could take for granted that gas stations, motels, and restaurants would serve them without question and that public recreational spaces, such as parks, theaters, and dance halls, had been designed for them, Black travelers could not. The knowledge needed to find segregated spaces where a person could safely stop was dubbed "travel craft:" the ability of a Black traveler to figure out where they might be comfortable and welcomed, or greeted with hostility and suspicion.[141] To describe this phenomenon in his analysis of segregated spaces, Robert Weyeneth explicated the concept of "behavioral separation," a method of partitioning Black and White patrons at places that were "theoretically open to both races," such as

restaurants, gas stations, and parks. Local social custom, rather than law, often defined these spaces and, for the most part, the custom granted White people access to all spaces while Black people had much more limited options. For Black travelers unacquainted with local customs, an error in assessing a space's accessibility was fraught with potential danger. Basic needs, such as finding a meal, a drink of water, a restroom, and overnight lodging, were most essential to procure, followed by service stations to obtain gasoline or a car repair, stores to purchase items unexpectedly needed during the trip, and a telephone in the event of a change of plans. Weyeneth explained, "One learned the lay of the land through friendly advice, tense encounters with whites, and simply watching to see what other African Americans were doing. Were they sitting on that bench or was the park off-limits? Were they making calls from that phone booth, or was it for whites only?"[142] The more knowledge a Black traveler could accumulate in advance of a trip, the safer they would be in unfamiliar environments.

One of the solutions to Black travelers' dilemmas came through "the establishment of an entire geography of black hotels, motels, boarding houses, and 'tourist homes.'"[143] Large cities offered more options, but even small cities and towns usually had at least one or two "tourist homes" that catered to Black customers. Tourist homes usually were single-family residences that doubled as a dwelling for the property owner and a rooming house for overnight guests (and, in some cases, long-term lodgers, too). The more modest tourist house may have had just one or two rooms available to rent, while more substantial operations had multiple bedrooms and two or more shared bathrooms. Breakfast and a sandwich to go rounded out the traveler's stay.[144] Just as the taverns and boarding houses of earlier times had provided a means of income generation for women, tourist homes could meet the same purpose during the early to mid-20th century. In Harrisonburg, Ida Mae Francis opened her home to boarders and travelers shortly after her husband's death in 1912. In addition to long-term lodgers, Francis hosted Black travelers because Harrisonburg's hotels served only White patrons. At the Francis house, guests and lodgers stayed in the four upstairs bedroom and shared a bathroom, while Francis and her daughter Mary lived downstairs. The tourist home was located in the thriving Newtown neighborhood, which dated to the Reconstruction Era. After Mary and her husband Eddie Rouser married, they, and their two children lived in the house with Ida Mae Francis. The Rousers divorced in the mid-1930s, and Mary and her children assisted Ida Mae Francis with the tourist home's operation until 1962.[145] Other examples of women-owned tourist homes that have been documented during this project are the Mrs. C. Stephens Tourist Home, Newport News; Mrs. Kate Wiley Tourist Home, Farmville; Mrs. Lawrence Jones Tourist Home, Petersburg; Mrs. M. K. Page Tourist Home, Danville; Mrs. N. P. Washington Tourist Home, Lynchburg; and Mrs. Yancey Tourist Home, Danville.

Starting in the 1910s, roadside commercial establishments that served Black people often included the word "colored" in their signage as a means for approaching travelers to identify them. This tactic, however, relied upon travelers either spotting the venue themselves while driving or learning about a place through word-of-mouth communication, such as instructions provided in advance by whomever they were visiting. Driving around a community in search of a Black person to ask for help, meanwhile, posed the risk of unintentionally wandering into the wrong part of town, such as a White residential area, where the presence of out-of-town Black travelers might immediately be met with hostility. One way that African American travelers coped with such uncertainty was by taking with them everything they needed, such as food, water, blankets, pillows, even extra gasoline in cans. Finding a safe place to pull off to rest,

however, or to find a toilet still entailed risk. Adults took turns driving, because many Black travelers knew it was much safer never to have to stop. Traveling at night also was considered to be safer because, behind headlights, a person's skin color was not visible. Whenever travelers had to stop their car for rest, or to sleep for a time, at least one person would stay on watch in case they were approached unexpectedly by pedestrians or automobiles. In the documentary film Driving While Black, all of these tactics were necessary, explained Walter Edwards, "because you don't know what's going to happen. White folks pull up on you and do whatever they want to." Community elder Vernall Allen added, "That's why people had cars. It was safer to have one to get around in, you see, as long as you knew where to get some gas."[146] Such worries and anxieties were integral to Black travelers' experiences because, for the most part in states such as Virginia, their car was a Black space traveling through White spaces and making a wrong turn could be disastrous. While a White family needed only a road map to navigate their travels, a Black family needed far more information to travel safely.

Travel Guides for Black Travelers

The word-of-mouth network that began to grow as more Black people could travel by automobile soon metamorphosed into an assortment of published travel guides, such as *Smith's Tourist Guide, Grayson's Travel and Business Guide*, *TravelGuide*, and the *Go Guide to Pleasant Motoring*; the latter included Amoco service stations in southern states where Black travelers could access services, such as gasoline, car repairs, and restrooms. The guides were useful for more than helping Black people to travel safely. They showcased the entrepreneurship of Black business owners and exercised collective economic power to resist discriminatory practices throughout the country. For example, during the 1930s, the "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work" (or, alternatively, "Buy Where You Can Work") campaign occurred in cities beyond the south to organize Black consumers and convince them not to buy from stores, including both locally-owned and well-known national chains, that refused to hire African Americans.[147]

The Negro Traveler's Green Book

Among the best-known of these guides today was *The Negro Traveler's Green Book*, which debuted in 1936; over the course of its 30-year existence, the guide also was published as *The Negro Motorist Green Book* and *The Travelers' Green Book*. Among the guide's slogans were "Assured Protection for the Negro Traveler" and "Vacation Without Aggravation."[148] Published by Victor Hugo Green and his wife, Alma Green, the guide included listings of tourist homes, guest houses, hotels, motels, restaurants, night clubs, tailors, vacation resorts, stores, and beauty parlors and barber shops, broken down by state. The Greens lived in Harlem but, because they traveled South to visit Alma Green's relatives during the summer, they had firsthand experience with the hazards that Black travelers faced.[149] "That Victor Green chose to include businesses such as golf courses, country clubs, state and national parks, and other recreational pursuits also celebrated activities beyond just basic survival. [He] tried to elevate the traveling experience from survival to enjoyment, and eventually to social action."[150]

A White-owned publisher, Gibraltar Printing & Publishing, printed *The Green Book* and the Greens managed its sales. The guide could be purchased via mail order and was sold to the public by businesses, particularly service stations, restaurants, and other places that served Black

customers. The guide quickly found success through word-of-mouth advertising. Victor Green worked for the U.S. Postal Service and he conceived the idea of tapping the national network of postal employees to help with the guide's marketing. Mail carriers solicited advertising opportunities from Black-owned businesses along their routes and informed the business owners how to order multiple copies of *The Green Book* for distribution to their customer base. Green also struck a deal with James A. Jackson, a Black marketing executives at Esso, a gas station chained owned by Standard Oil (today's Exxon). Jackson coordinated the distribution of the guides to Esso gas stations, many of which were owned by Black entrepreneurs. [151] By the 1930s, "Esso was becoming increasingly well known as one of the most progressive large companies when it came to the treatment of Black customers and employees. Not only were African-American motorists welcome at nearly all Esso stations, but Esso also employed Black men as mail clerks, pipeline workers, and even gas station franchise owners."[152]

The Greens saw their new travel guide quickly become popular, with distribution in every state east of the Mississippi River within just a couple of years. *The Green Book* soon was available nationwide. An important aspect of the guide's importance to Black Americans was that it helped them to identify in advance businesses that welcomed their patronage, rather than those that merely tolerated African American customers by, for example, selling a sandwich from a rear kitchen window. In places where Jim Crow segregation was not rigidly enforced, the availability of *The Green Book* at a restaurant, night club, gas station, or other business also created opportunities for other Americans to see the breadth of Black-owned businesses and, if they chose, to patronize those businesses, too. Especially due to the effects of residential segregation (discussed further below) and discriminatory employment practices, opportunities for White people, especially in smaller cities and towns, to interact with other races and ethnicities were limited during the mid-20th century. *The Green Book* provided a way for such interactions to occur. The Greens assured their guide's continuing relevancy, too, by adjusting its content to fit changing travel trends and the post-World War II political atmosphere, as well as expanding the range of businesses and other places included in the guide. Over the thirty years of its publication, *The Green Book* included over 10,000 listings for privately owned business, as well as colleges, parks and other recreational facilities, and social improvement clubs.[153]

Entertainment Options in *The Green Book*

The Green Book also provided Black travelers and customers with up-to-date information about entertainment options. As Carolyn Finner, a cultural geographer, explained in the documentary film *Driving While Black,* "[In] the United States, the idea of play is it's a privilege, recreation is a privilege, leisure is a privilege. If you have to work all the time, and/or you are poor, you don't have time for leisure. Doesn't mean you don't know how to play… So [with *The Green Book*] you can show up and tell a different kind of story regardless of what the dominant culture is doing."[154] To that end, by the mid-1930s, 60 percent of American households owned a radio. At the same time, radios had become so popular that they quickly became a standard feature in automobiles as well, and 1.5 million cars were equipped with them.[155] Although Black musicians, actors, and singers were not able to tap into radio audiences to the same extent as White performers, Black entrepreneurs sought to capitalize on the opportunities available in a brand-new enterprise not yet dominated by monopolistic broadcasters. Similarly, from the beginnings of film cinema at the turn of the 20th century, Black directors, producers, and actors created films that, as the industry matured, became increasingly available to widespread

audiences and provided another way for audiences to learn about Black performing artists. To maximize their opportunities and audiences, African American entertainers in music, theater, dance, and other performing arts also regularly toured Southern states because, even after the Great Migration was well under way, large Black populations continued to reside in the South. By touring in states where Jim Crow was the law of the land, usually on a somewhat predictable route known as the "Chitlin Circuit," African American celebrities could reach wider audiences who lacked access to radios and movie theaters, and they relied on *The Green Book* to plan their tours in advance. In addition to planning tours that were as comfortable and safe as possible, they could avoid the routine humiliations that Jim Crow segregation inflicted on all Black people.

The Green Book also showcased the genius and creativity of Black entrepreneurship in the face of huge obstacles endemic to a White supremacist society. African Americans created a parallel world that allowed them to have concrete examples of successes in Black culture and Black spaces, thus providing a solid foundation for younger generations to build upon. Among the examples of this ingenuity in the entertainment industry was the Dudley Theatrical Circuit, which booked Black vaudeville performers.[156] The circuit was founded and managed by Sherman H. Dudley between the 1890s-1910s. Between 1916-1921, the Dudley circuit merged with two other organizations to found the Southern Consolidated Circuit. This new organization soon was absorbed by the Theater Owners Booking Association (TOBA) and Dudley rose to head the association. Legendary performers including Josephine Baker, Cab Calloway, Ma Rainey, and Bessie Smith were among the Black performers who toured on the circuit. Black-owned newspapers routinely advertised and published articles about the performers touring at nearby locations. In addition to booking at venues in all of the southern states, TOBA also booked at Black-owned theaters in the Midwest, including Wisconsin, Michigan, Missouri, and Illinois.[157] During the 1930s, TOBA collapsed due to the ravages of the Great Depression. the "Chitlin Circuit," a more informal conglomeration of music halls, social clubs, juke joints, theaters, and dance halls, hosted touring Black performers. Denver and Sea Ferguson, brothers who lived in Indianapolis, formed the Ferguson Brothers' Booking Agency, which filled the vacuum left by TOBA's demise. The clubs and theaters that booked performers through the Fergusons' agency became known informally as the "Chitlin Circuit." The network of venues stretched from Florida to Massachusetts and as far west as Texas.[158]

Larger cities typically offered the lodging, restaurants, and performance venues that fueled the "Chitlin Circuit" and Black audiences often traveled long distances to see their shows. In Petersburg, the Halifax Triangle Historic District was one example of a popular stop on the "Chitlin Circuit." One of the best-known theaters was the Rialto, designed by African American architect Charles T. Russelll. Built in 1923, the theater offered both a movie screen and a music hall, a combined function that maximized the owners' options for booking both live performances and the increasingly popular Hollywood films of the silent movie era. Also within the district was the Club Chatterbox, another performance venue on the circuit. Adding to the district's appeal was its location alongside U.S. Route 1, which extended as far south as Miami, Florida, and north through Maine. Route 1 also connected Richmond, Fredericksburg, and Alexandria, all of which also sought automobile-based tourism to bolster their economies. In 1936, the same year that publication of *The Green Book* began, the Petersburg Negro Business Association was established under the leadership of Luther P. Jackson at nearby Virginia State College (today's Virginia State University). The association's purpose was to aid Black business owners with marketing and management practices and to encourage the local Black population to

patronize these businesses over less welcoming White-owned businesses. At its height, Halifax Triangle featured "Black-owned restaurants, clubs, doctor's offices, schools, and a variety of other businesses… and three black-owned halls including the Masonic Hall, Mosaic Templar Hall, and Wilkerson's Hall."[159]

Women Business Owners and *The Green Book*

As noted above, women featured prominently among Black business owners who advertised in *The Green Book,* particularly for tourist homes and beauty salons, both of which were associated with women's roles in African American culture and wider American society of the early- to mid-20th century. On its Green Book Historic Site webpage, the National Park Service's African American Civil Rights Network explains that operating their own small businesses provided Black women with a level of independence and autonomy that defied the limitations imposed on them by Jim Crow laws and White patriarchy. Most of the women who operated tourist homes were married or widowed.[160] In smaller towns and rural areas, tourist homes often were the only rental lodging available to Black travelers. Tourist homes were among the most commonly listed businesses in *The Green Book* through most of its publication years. Such advertising in a popular traveler's guide directed travelers who may not otherwise have found lodgings such as these. Beauty salons (or beauty parlors, as they also were known) ranked among the most numerous of the businesses included in *The Green Book*. Salons, as well as barber shops, were communal spaces where customers and employees gathered in a relaxed setting to discuss the news, issues, and gossip of the day. Salons and "beauty colleges," where new stylists learned the trade, also offered products specific to the characteristics of Black women's hair; some offered their own custom-made products but, as mass consumerism proliferated through the first half of the 20th century, commercial produced products by cosmetics companies increasingly were sold. Cultural documentarian Candacy Taylor, author of *Overground Railroad: The Green Book and the Roots of Black Travel in America,* is quoted, "As the automobile industry lifted black men out of poverty and into the middle class, the hair industry did the same for black women." [161]

African American Accessibility to State and National Parks during the Jim Crow Era

African Americans' experiences of landscapes that typically are included in state and national parks long was imposed upon them by White supremacists' beliefs and expectations. As discussed above, during the slavery era, landscapes of fields, forests, and waterways were framed through lenses of oppression and violence. Black people, whether alone or in groups, whether enslaved or free, were subject to questioning and detention by slave patrols, municipal law enforcement officials, and slavecatchers. For freedom seekers, the landscapes of Virginia represented a journey from oppression to freedom through settings that balanced means of travel against the threat of discovery. After the Civil War, White vigilantes turned forests, rivers, and open spaces into places to hunt African Americans who had, in their opinion, violated a social norm or law. The stories of Black men, women, and even children who were taken to a wooded area, and never heard from again, were rife in Black communities throughout the country, even as White naturalists were exulting in the glories of wilderness experiences. The first national park, Yellowstone, was established in 1872. The same year, the Amnesty Act passed by Congress ended prohibitions on former Confederate insurrectionists holding elected office. The takeover of local, state, and federal offices in the former slaveholding states by White politicians immediately began, leading to the ouster of progressive Republicans and "Readjusters" across

Virginia. Also in 1872, a series of lawsuits filed by White supremacists aimed to undermine the 13th and 14th constitutional amendments in favor of state and local laws that restricted the rights of African Americans. The Supreme Court's "Slaughterhouse Cases" decision "held that the Fourteenth Amendment protected only the 'privileges and immunities' conferred by national citizenship… [and] that rights derived from a person's state citizenship were enforceable only in state courts."[162] The Court's decision was one of a dozen more cases in which the applicability of the 13th and 14th amendments were narrowed in deference to allowing states to assign the rights and privileges of citizenship upon their populations and, therefore, also forms a part of the legal precedents that eventually culminated with the 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision. Furthermore, the leadership of the budding environmental movement that advocated for the protection of wilderness landscapes such as Yellowstone, notably John Muir, espoused racist stereotypes about Black people and Native Americans. Some leading environmentalists of the late 19th century also supported the pseudo-science of eugenics, which argued that humans should be "bred" to protect super genes of White people while limiting reproductive options for people of color.[163]

As discussed in detail in the National Historic Landmarks Theme Study entitled *African American Outdoor Recreation*, Black people were not included in the planning, selection, and management of outdoor recreational spaces, whether those were in a new national park or a local city park. The very notion of African Americans having opportunities for recreational activities offended the sensibilities of White supremacists. The possibility of integrated groups enjoying shared spaces, whether at a beach, a hot springs resort, or in the midst of a picturesque municipal park, was equally noxious to White supremacists. "Ritualistic murders" of Black individuals by White mobs occurred throughout the former Confederate states. Some public lynchings also occurred in local parks, sometimes with hundreds of White spectators in attendance. In addition to instilling racial terror among Black communities, the use of woodlands and parks for these crimes represented an attempt to claim such natural spaces exclusively for White people. Drownings of Black victims in rivers, or disposal of murdered victims in bodies of water, also served this dual purpose. At the resorts that proliferated between the late 19th to early 20th century, such as the Cavalier Hotel and Beach Club, the Homestead, and the Warm Springs Bathhouses, Black people could find employment opportunities but were not welcomed to enjoy the recreational amenities.[164]

During the Great Depression, President Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration included development of new national, state, and local parks in its many New Deal initiatives to provide employment opportunities and economic lifelines to places that had been devastated by the effects of the 1929 stock market crash. In southern states, White state and local officials resisted provision of recreational spaces for Black citizens. Although segregation of parks was not legally mandated in Virginia, Black Virginians were aware that "public" parks actually were intended to be "Whites-only" parks. Federal agencies, including the Civilian Conservation Corps, Federal Emergency Land Relief Program, National Park Service, U.S. Forest Service within the Department of Agriculture, and Works Progress Administration, succeeded in developing a few segregated spaces for Black people to enjoy. In Virginia, examples include the Green Pastures Recreation Area within the Jefferson and Washington national forests, the Prince Edward Lake Recreational Development Area (part of today's Twin Lakes State Park), the Swift Creek Recreational Development Area (within today's Pocahontas State Park), and Lewis Mountain Development Area within the Skyline Drive Historic District. All of these recreational spaces

were welcomed by and drew large numbers of Black visitors each year. Automobile-based tourism attracted visitors from outside Virginia as well. Churches, fraternal organizations, labor unions, and other social organizations planned numerous types of visits to the parks, often with the goal of providing young people an opportunity to explore natural settings well away from White surveillance.[165]

The federal government as a whole did not have a formal policy of racial segregation, but during the 1910s, Woodrow Wilson's administration had racially segregated the federal workforce, which resulted in a decades-long dearth in Black employment in professional positions at executive branch agencies. The National Park Service developed and implemented its own segregation policies for national parks located in Jim Crow states during the 1930s-1940s. As discussed in detail in the report, *Segregation in Virginia's National Parks, 1916-1965,* picnic areas, comfort stations, and campgrounds were segregated. This division of space mirrored the segregation required in Jim Crow-era Virginia; Black and White people could not share eating spaces, toilet facilities, or areas for relaxing and sleeping under state law. President Harry Truman, who ordered desegregation of the U.S. military branches in 1948, did not issue any executive orders or seek congressional action regarding segregation in other aspects of federal government, but he called for an end to various types of racist practices in public statements, including his 1948 State of the Union address. The recent Allied victory over the genocidal Nazi regime added considerable impetus to Turman's and other federal political leaders who rejected the racial superiority arguments of both Nazis and homegrown White supremacists. Taking heed, the National Park Service quietly desegregated its own facilities and operations.[166]

Some local governments, typically Virginia's larger cities, also established segregated parks for Black residents. One such example is Montgomery Hall Park, a former plantation, in the city of Staunton. With 150 acres, it was among the largest of Virginia's segregated city parks. Upon its opening in 1946, as many as 18,000 Black people came to the park on an annual basis. The park's amenities included a swimming pool, softball fields, playground, horseshoe pits, basketball and tennis courts, and picnic shelters. An 1822 dwelling on the property served as administrative, meeting, and recreational space for various organizations. The park had been established due to the efforts of local Black community leaders who skillfully navigated the period's legal and social customs to convince Staunton's city council to agree to establish a park for Black residents (after the council declined suggestions that the city's other large park, Gypsy Hill, be set aside on certain days for use by Black residents).[167]

After World War II, Black Virginians increasingly became impatient with Jim Crow laws and the vast inequalities imposed by the "separate but equal doctrine." The NAACP and other civil rights organizations began to pursue legal avenues to dismantle Jim Crow segregation. Although battles concerning school desegregation are often best known, lawsuits also were filed to desegregate parks, public transportation such as railroads and buses, restaurants, theaters, and other types of privately owned, public-serving spaces, professional training and licensing programs, juries, and other aspects of public life in Virginia. Private individuals also vigorously protested segregation by writing letters of complaint to elected and administrative officials. Located within a national park, the Lewis Mountain Area and the rest of Skylin Drive's amenities quietly were desegregated by the federal government after World War II.[168] In Virgnia, however, state officials resisted desegregation and instead sought to demonstrate that segregated public spaces, whether schools or parks, could be "equalized" to those set aside for

White people. Thus, after M. Conrad Martin, a Danville-based businessman, filed a lawsuit after being denied admission to Staunton River State Park in 1948, the Virginia General Assembly responded with a special appropriation to upgrade the Prince Edward Lake Development Area to bring it up to par with other state parks.[169] Virginia's political leadership continued to argue that equalization, rather than segregation, was appropriate for the Commonwealth's publicly owned resources through the early 1960s. Only passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1968 Supreme Court decision, *Greene v. New Kent County*, finally put to rest the equalization argument for locally- and state-owned public accommodations.

Post-World War II Travel, the Civil Rights Movement, and The Green Book

During World War II, automobile tourism and travel largely ceased as the U.S. mobilized every economic sector upon its entry into World War II. Gasoline was strictly rationed, as were materials needed to manufacture and repair automobiles, for the war's duration. The worldwide exposure of Nazi atrocities and their attempted genocide of European Jews caused many White Americans to reconsider their own beliefs about racial superiority, while Black Americans, who again had served in a segregated military to fight for freedom abroad, emerged from the war with determined focus on ending racial oppression in the U.S. At the federal level, leading politicians from states outside of the former Confederacy increasingly disavowed race-based segregation in an effort to differentiate the U.S. from the Nazi regime, particularly as the U.S. sought to take a leading role in the nascent Cold War with the Soviet Union. In the private sector, the 1947 desegregation of Major League Baseball was a seminal event that elicited widespread commentary, both against and in favor of the action. The postwar years, however, were not widely progressive in the matter of race relations.

For Virginia, the first eight years after World War II saw the emergence of a new iteration on the decades-old struggle to maintain racial segregation. In 1949, the "equalization" movement under Governor John Battle embarked on a 15-year effort to prove that "separate but equal" public schools could be made a reality, and just two years later, Barbara Johns led a student walkout at Robert Russa Moton High School in Farmville to protest the school's crowded conditions and inadequate facilities. The NAACP filed a lawsuit, *Davis v. The County School Board of Prince Edward County*, to desegregate the county's schools due to the inadequacies of schools for Black children. Although the Supreme Court rejected this case in 1953, the next year, the *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* decision resulted in an order to integrate all public schools in the U.S. "with all deliberate speed." The vagueness of the timeline for desegregation created opportunities for segregationists to stonewall the Court's decision for 14 years, and provided room for Virginia to develop its Massive Resistance legislative package to resist all forms of desegregation. In 1955, the torture and lynching of 14-year-old Emmett Till and the Montgomery Bus Boycott galvanized Black activism in Jim Crow states. The long Civil Rights Movement, its roots stretching back to the Reconstruction Era, began the march toward the major civil rights legislation of the 1960s: the 1964 Civil Rights Act, 1965 Voting Rights Act, and the 1968 Fair Housing Act.

Places listed in *The Green Book* and automobile travel provided Black Virginians with another way to navigate the landscapes of Virginia while also working for the burgeoning Civil Rights Movement. Although wartime rationing had prevented the guide's publication between 1941-1945, the Greens resumed their work with a new edition published in 1946. The postwar

publication addressed civil rights issues in increasingly blunt terms. One of the major pieces of social legislation from the war years was the 1944 Servicemen's Readjustment Act (popularly known as the GI Bill), which aimed to prevent the disruptions caused by sudden, mass demobilization after World War I ended. In 1918, the glut of returning servicemen and the abrupt cancellation of war manufacturing caused job shortages and recessions in many parts of the country. As an example, Virginia's Hampton Roads area, home to a major naval installation and the Norfolk Naval Shipyard, experienced an economic shock that depressed the local job and real estate markets for several years. The GI Bill aimed to avoid similar repercussions by providing returning servicemen with the means to pursue postsecondary education and to purchase a house at favorable lending rates. Both opportunities were readily available to White veterans, but Black, Latino, Native American, and other groups of veterans faced discriminatory school admission and lending practices. The federal government itself, primarily through the Federal Housing Administration (FHA), greatly facilitated housing discrimination by "redlining" Black neighborhoods to identify them as areas for private lenders to avoid.[170]

Victor and Alma Green began to address civil rights topics in the pages of *The Green Book*. For example, the 1947 edition included an article about the need for Black veterans to have accessible educational opportunities and for the colleges they attended to receive the financial support of the GI Bill educational benefits. Following the article, the Greens provided a list of 106 Black schools and colleges to which Black veterans could apply for admission.[171] In Virginia, historically Black colleges included Hampton Institute, Virginia Union University, Virginia State College (now Virginia State University) and its satellite campus in Norfolk (today's Norfolk State University), St. Paul's Polytechnic Institute (later St. Paul's College), and Virginia Theological College and Seminary (now Virginia University of Lynchburg).

Just as Black performing artists utilized *The Green Book* to plan tours through Virginia, so did Civil Rights Movement activists. Prior to World War II, when the NAACP dispatched lawyers to look into cases of rampant discrimination against Black people in the criminal justice system, their attorneys had to find lodging, restaurants, and other accommodations.[172] In 1932, NAACP attorney Charles Hamilton Houston, who was involved in numerous civil rights lawsuits in Virginia, went to Leesburg in Loudoun County to serve as the defense attorney for George Crawford, a defendant in a murder case with racial overtones. To no one's surprise, Crawford was convicted of the murders of Agnes Ilsley and Mina Buckner, both of whom were White women. The resultant appeal of Crawford's conviction up to the U.S. Supreme Court, with Houston acting as lead attorney, brought widespread attention to the inequities of the criminal court systems in Jim Crow states. Houston's legal brilliance also persuaded the NAACP to start assigning Black attorneys as lead counsel in its lawsuits throughout the south; prior to this time, the NAACP had hired White attorneys in the belief that they would be treated more fairly in Southern courts.[173]

Restaurants and hotels listed in *The Green Book* generally were through "to be safe from police interference" and, thus, became meeting spaces for local residents, activists, community organizers, attorneys, and others involved in the Civil Rights Movement. As places where people came and went frequently, hair salons in *The Green Book* were a convenient location for distributing voting rights literature, as civil rights materials mailed directly to individual residences were subject to inspection by unscrupulous postal employees. Black residents known to be interested or engaged in civil rights activism often were targeted by White supremacists,

vigilantes, and local and state government officials. Civil rights activists were targets for harassment, threats, cross burnings, shootings, and bombings, both to discourage them from continuing their activism and to terrorize the larger Black community into silence. Tourist homes, which were found in far more locations than hotels, also served a vital role in the Civil Rights Movement. As places where guests came and went frequently, tourist homes may have been surveilled by White authorities, but picking out Civil Rights activists from the families on vacation, traveling businessmen, and other lodgers was impractical.[174]

The types of businesses where Civil Rights planning, social networking, and meetings also point to the influential role of Black women in the Movement's success. Salons and tourist lodges tended to be owned by women and those who were willing to risk their livelihoods and homes by hosting meetings, providing food and lodging to traveling activists, and otherwise extending care to those undertaking the dangerous work of dismantling Jim Crow. The Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) also played a crucial role in civil rights, in part due to its emphasis on aiding women's education and development, providing them with the skills needed to contribute to civil rights organizing and activism. During the long Civil Rights Movement, the YWCA participated in anti-lynching campaigns during the 1930s and desegregation of housing during the 1940s, as well as providing temporary housing, meeting space, and support for women involved in the lawsuits and demonstrations that characterized the Movement during the 1950s-1960s. Between 1936-1966, *The Green Book* included listings for 47 local YWCA branches, including the Phyllis Wheatley YWCA branch in Lynchburg.[175] According to research conducted by Susan Hellman, a group of African American women began renting a house at 613 Monroe Street to present YWCA programs. The group became an official Phyllis Wheatley YWCA Branch in 1919. The "Phyllis Wheatley" name indicated that the YWCA branch was for Black women, as the national YWCA at that time was segregated at all levels. In 1924, the Phyllis Wheatley YWCA branch in Lynchburg purchased the Monroe Street building from the Old Dominion Elks Lodge #181, a local benevolent organization. The YWCA branch grew its membership and, during the 1930s, began to consider options for relocating to a larger space. After a lengthy fundraising campaign, the organization moved into a larger building at 600 Monroe Street in 1950, where it continues to be located today. The branch was listed in *The Green Book* from 1941-1956.[176]

Another aspect of *The Green Book's* influence on the Civil Rights Movement was automobile travel itself. With its extensive listings of Black-owned businesses in all of the southern states, both attorneys and other representatives of civil rights organizations could plan their trips in advance and local activists who needed to travel from their home location to another town or city to confer with attorneys, organizers, and other parties.[177] Automobiles also made it possible for people to travel to places to participate in educational meetings where they learned about voting and other constitutional rights, civil disobedience tactics, organizing marches, sit-ins, and other demonstrations, and related activities.

Automobile Tourism of the Mid-20th Century: An Example in Fredericksburg

In the book *Urban Heritage in Divided Cities*, Christine Rae Henry and Andrea Livi Smith studied the history of segregation and tourism in Fredericksburg and how both trends have affected the city's residential settlement and economic development patterns up to the present. The city's racialized cultural landscape, with distinct areas within

which Black residents were expected to live, already has been described. Likewise, as explained above, by the 1920s, the improving road system, along with the popularity and increasing affordability of automobiles, introduced a new dimension of economic development for places across the country. Finally, due to national interest in Virginia's colonial history, especially after the 1907 Jamestown Exposition, places across Virginia that could claim an association with the colonial past, American Revolution, and Founding Fathers marketed itself to travelers. Almost universally, the places associated with wealthy, powerful men were featured in this type of early tourism programming and Fredericksburg was not an exception. Additionally, the city's location along U.S. Route 1, designated in 1925 to link major population centers up and down the east coast, and equidistant from Washington, DC., and Richmond placed the small city along the travel routes for ever-increasing numbers of automobile travelers each year and in a good position to entice tourists to stay for a while.[178]

The Great Depression and World War II curtailed automobile tourism for a prolonged period. Continued economic growth during the postwar years, however, allowed a growing number of middle-class and, in some sectors, working-class, Americans to have the means to own a family car, the ability to take a paid vacation from work, and to have sufficient disposable income to pay for a family vacation of a week or longer. Due to the endemic racial discrimination of the period, such prosperity was unevenly distributed, with Black, Latino, Native American, recent European immigrants, and other minorities were left out of the patterns of increased family wealth and leisure time.

Given the skew of automobile-based tourism toward White audiences and the recent validation of Allied victory during World War II, public interest in American history had been heightened. Historic sites became places for recreation as well as education. Up through the 1940s, and later in many places, American's education in the nation's history was steeped in mythology about the first colonial settlements, the Founding Fathers, and Manifest Destiny, Tropes that justified expansion of the U.S. through expropriation of lands occupied by Native Americans, annexing more than 525,000 square miles of Mexican territory, late 19th century imperialism that included acquisition of territories well beyond the mainland U.S. were plentiful. Discussion of the contributions of people who were not wealthy, White, and male were few. Critical analysis of how modern life differed from the democratic ideals of the American Revolution also was not promulgated in many public schools, particularly in the former slaveholding states. A certain version of the Civil War, therefore, also became a subject of widespread fascination as it had been the crucible within which the nation had been most tested in fulfilling the ambitions of the Revolutionary generation. Furthermore, due to settlement and transportation patterns between the east coast and Mississippi River, many Civil War battlefields and cemeteries were within fairly easy driving distance of the rapidly developing U.S. highway system. For these reasons, Fredericksburg became a major draw for tourist from nearby population centers such as Washington DC, Baltimore, and Philadelphia as well as places farther afield that were linked to US Route 1.

Among the first major historic sites including Fredericksburg that become a magnet for tourists was the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park, authorized by the U.S. Congress in 1927. The National Park Service was assigned responsibility for

preserving and interpreting the nearby battlefields.[179] As noted above, the national parks at this time were racially segregated and engagement of non-White audiences was not prioritized. Within the City of Fredericksburg, sites associated with colonial and the home-front aspects of Civil War history added to the range of options for tourists to enjoy. Despite the intensity of fighting in and around Fredericksburg during the war, large portions of the city, particularly downtown, had survived the war, thus illustrating both its colonial and Civil War history. Additionally, the Colonial Revival movement emerged during the 1880s and captured White Virginians' collective imagination at the same time they were rewriting Civil War history to erase its root cause in slavery to argue, instead, that Confederate leaders had followed the example of the Founding Fathers in their attempt to throw off the yoke of tyranny. That the Confederate States of America had lost the war became a tragedy made more poignant by the heroism of those who had fought in the war. As explained above, this "Lost Cause" narrative had firmly taken root by the 1920s and flourished throughout the 20th century among White audiences.

Due to all of these factors, from the 1920s through the late 20th century, heritage tourism in Fredericksburg generally catered to White audiences who enjoyed learning sanitized versions of colonial and Civil War history, the city's colonial-era and Colonial Revival architecture, and the themed restaurants, hotels, and entertainment attractions that catered to them. As described above, Fredericksburg's racialized cultural landscape entailed segregation of Black communities to limited portions of the city that, for the most part, easily were avoided by White residents. Similarly, tourism-related activity also excluded these parts of the city and Black business owners, as well as Black history in general, were excluded from the city's tourism industry. Over time, this exclusion had substantial economic impacts on Black neighborhoods as, by the end of the 20th century, tourism had become a major sector of the local economy. [180]

Notwithstanding these factors, Fredericksburg also was a stop for Black people traveling via US Route 1 due to its location along the highway and the sizable Black population that supported a range of Black-owned businesses. Two Fredericksburg hotels advertised in *The Green Book* and both were located on Route 1, across the railroad tracks that separated "the Bottoms" from downtown Fredericksburg and in close proximity to Libertytown.[181] Neither of the hotels appears to be extant today. Another business listed in *The Green Book*, Taylor's Restaurant, however, is extant and was documented as part of this project. The restaurant had the distinction of operating from a private dwelling that was, according to research provided by historian Helen Ross, the building was erected by Wade Construction Company in 1955 and the restaurant was owned and operated by Clarence and Adelaide Taylor. Located at 220 Frazier Street, Taylor's Restaurant was listed in *The Green Book* between 1958-1962.[182]

The Interstate Highway System and Loss of Black Communities

Starting in the 1950s, the means of travel that had brought freedom of movement for countless Black Americans also brought waves of destruction of Black neighborhoods and communities. Planned by almost exclusively White federal, state, and local government officials, the new interstate highway system was designed to serve the needs of rapidly growing suburbs that almost exclusively were populated by White people due to the racist financing and lending

policies promulgated by the Federal Housing Administration, private lenders, and the real estate development industry. As White residents fled urban cores, Black residents and poor people of all races who were excluded from opportunities to move to the suburbs remained in neighborhoods that encircled historic downtowns and central business districts. White professionals continued to be employed at the corporate and government offices of downtown areas and interstates were designed to facilitate their movement from suburban homes to office locations with minimal difficulties. The fastest route between those two states was often identified as passing through Black neighborhoods. Through the Interstate Highway Act, government officials seized the opportunity to yoke interstate construction to "urban renewal," a postwar movement to rid cities of "slums" and "blighted areas," without recognizing that the "slums," in fact, were living communities and that much of the "blight" was due to the negligence of absentee landlords and lack of property maintenance requirements and tenant protections on the part of local governments. Instead, government planners targeted these neighborhoods for destruction to create unimpeded corridors for the new high-speed interstates.[183]

As historian Erica Avila explained in the documentary film *Driving While Black,* officials created a methodology for categorizing neighborhoods as "desirable" or "undesirable," and the primary criteria for it was race; any neighborhood that included Black people, whether one or many, automatically was classified as undesirable. Furthermore, the discriminatory housing and segregation practices that had endured for decades also depressed the values of property within mixed and Black neighborhoods, making it less expensive for the federal government to buy hundreds of properties in those areas in order to build highways. Extensive use of eminent domain and condemnation of private property also accompanied highway construction and "urban renewal projects; government officials understood that Black and poor communities were least empowered to stave off infrastructure projects and, therefore, their places were part of the path of least resistance. Both the highways and "urban renewal" projects coordinated by government officials shared a fundamental understanding that any Black space was inferior to a White space. Among the consequences of this ideology was the creation of even more racially stratified cultural landscapes and built environments throughout the country.[184] Subsequent suppression of effective mass transit systems from urban neighborhoods to growing suburbs also cut off Black and other populations from the proliferating job opportunities in those areas.

Filmmaker Lolis Elie added that White officials called the areas targeted for demolition "dying communities" and they posited that highway construction would relocate residents to an improved living environment. They did not, however, take into account that such communities were not "dying" but merely showing the effects of systematic divestment and neglect. Relocated residents also were not provided substantial assistance with reestablishing new neighborhoods as the racist housing policies mentioned above were not addressed, making it difficult for people to find new places to live. Through systematic destruction of Black neighborhoods, Elie argued, Interstates and highways became a way to "take back" large portions of cities that were Black-occupied areas and repurpose them to serve the needs of White suburbanites instead. [185]

Keeping up with rapidly changing times, *The Green Book* continued to track the advances made by the Civil Rights Movement even as Black neighborhoods and business districts were being destroyed due to interstate construction. Perhaps anticipating the increasing compensation that would be generated by the interstate era and progress toward civil rights goals, "the 1956 [edition

included an] article recount[ing] the efforts of the Nationwide Hotel Association to encourage black hotel owners to improve their properties to make them as attractive to travelers as other hotels, made necessary due to increasing integration."[186] Subsequent editions included articles about walkouts, sit-ins, and other demonstrations of the early 1960s. In the 1963-1964 edition, an article summarized civil rights laws state by state. Historian Richard Weyeneth noted that the 1965-1966 edition of *The Green Book*, its final publication, included a short discussion of the recently passed Civil Rights Act of 1964, characterizing it as "a new bill of rights for everyone" with its promise of access to hotels, restaurants, theaters, and other forms of public accommodation. Suggesting the gap, though, between the new expectations of federal law and the continuing realities of travel, this edition of the *Green Book* still included lists of hotels, motels, tourist homes, restaurants, resorts, and camps in all fifty American states and the District of Columbia, as well as a number of international destinations.[187]

By the mid-1960s, the mixed blessings of the automobile era had become intrinsic to daily life for Black Virginians. Highways, and then interstates, had made travel safer for Black travelers, who no longer had to navigate poorly marked country roads.[188] But Black neighborhoods and businesses were marooned by limited access, divided highways that carried thousands of cars at high speed through their environs without connecting Black residents and business owners to the growing economies associated with suburbanization. Bypassed businesses along former primary roads, such as US Route 1, suffered as most travelers switched to using interstates for their trips. At least half of the Black-owned businesses in *The Green Book* were closed within 10 years.[189] During the course of this project, field investigations demonstrated that many of the businesses listed in *The Green Book* in places across Virginia had been replaced by highways. Those that may have survived road construction fell to the wrecking balls of "urban renewal" projects. According to the documentary film *Driving While Black*, about 80 percent of all the places nationwide that, at some point, were listed in *The Green Book* have been lost.[190] The historic Black communities in Virginia that were extensively damaged or destroyed by highway construction and related "urban renewal" projects include Jackson Ward in Richmond, Halifax Triangle in Petersburg, and Newtown in Harrisonburg.

Contemplating the totality of the events of *The Green Books* publication years of 1936-1966, Alvin Hall mused that "*The Green Book* had been the way to map a route through unsafe spaces to reach safe spaces. The 1964 Civil Rights Act made the route itself safer."[191]Lolis Elie added that "The Green Book is a parallel route through history. It's the highway for marginalized and disenfranchised people, alongside the one for White people that they think of as 'American' history.[192] The places associated with *The Green Book*, including those that have been lost, and the racialized cultural and natural landscapes of the Commonwealth's history since the 17th century, illustrate this bifurcated understanding of history as it once was and as it continues to be today.

Green Book Places in Virginia, c. 1936-c. 1966

More than 300 businesses across Virginia were listed in *The Green Book* between 1936-1966. More than 200 of these places have been lost. Approximately 59 places are known to be extant and have been documented during the course of this project. The types of businesses that occupied these extant resources are described below.

Filling stations/ Service stations

Auto service stations and filling/ gas stations are Automotive Related Resources that were included in *The Green Book*. These resources range in size, style, construction method, and materials; however, they are often one-story, have flat or low-sloped roofs, are of masonry construction, include at least one garage bay, and have large fixed windows in an office/customer service area, which usually was placed directly adjacent to a service bay. They are typically, but not exclusively, located along primary streets and often include parking lots, light or sign posts, and gas pumps (or evidence of them historically). African Americans traveling by car required a safe place to refuel and to address any automotive concerns during their travels across Virginia. Many of the auto service stations that catered to Black customers were owned by African Americans. Some national oil companies, such as Esso, permitted African Americans to purchase franchises for their brand. Ten auto service stations were documented during this project: Adams Street Service Station, Richmond; Al Smith's Service Station, Newport News; Alston's Esso, Norfolk; E&L Lassiter Pure Oil Service Station, Suffolk; Groves Esso Service Center, Williamsburg; H. Vaughan Service Station, Richmond; Harris Service Station, Richmond; Marshall's Cities Service Station, Portsmouth; Oliver's Restaurant and Texaco Station, Jamaica; and Preston Street Service Station, Richmond.

Hotels/Motels

Hotels and motels were commercial lodging options that were located in purpose-built buildings or complexes, or in a commercial building that had been adapted for this purpose. Hotels typically occupied a single one-, two-, or three-story building. Hotels and motels listed in *The Green Book* most often were located in a city or town rather than a rural area. Motels were "motor hotels" that were purpose built to accommodate guests travelling by automobile. They are distinguished by the placement of room entries on the façade, rather than having an interior corridor from which rooms were accessed, as was the case with hotels. Parking lots were designed to allow a motel guest to park directly in front of their room entry. Many motels historically included an office, sometimes housed in a separate building but not always, and may include another secondary resource, such as a small restaurant or a building with services such as washing machines and dryers. While hotels were located more within a commercial district within a city or town, motels frequently were built along a primary street into and out of a locality or alongside a major transportation route such as US Route 1. The following hotels and motels were documented during this project: Booker T. Motor Court, Williamsburg; Brown's Hotel, South Hill; Corner Inn, Lawrenceville; Fifth Street Pharmacy/ Hotel Douglas/ Humbles Building, Lynchburg; Forest View Hotel, Disputanta; Hotel Dumas, Roanoke; Otto's Inn, Richmond; and Watkins Motel, Gloucester.

Tourist Homes

Tourist homes, also known as lodging houses, were private dwellings that were used to rent overnight lodging to African American travelers stopping in or passing through cities and towns across Virginia. Examples of single-family, multiple-family, townhouse, and rowhouse lodging homes are known to have been among the buildings that once served this purpose. Historic additions to expand the dwellings to accommodate more travelers were common alterations to these resources. Typically located on a single parcel, most tourist homes were one- to two-story

dwellings but with variations in size, architectural style, materials, massing, and footprint. Outbuildings and/or secondary dwellings also were found at properties such as these. Tourist homes offered lodging for African American travelers throughout Virginia during the Jim Crow segregation era. Unlike hotels and motels, which tended to be in larger towns and cities, even very small towns had tourist homes and some were not located to a town at all. In addition to providing safe accommodations for travelers, lodging homes, which often were owned by women, provided opportunities for financial autonomy and independence for both single and married women. As tourist homes almost always were located within a Black enclave or neighborhood, they also signaled to travelers that they could safely stop as these lodgings were within or very close to a Black-owned area. The tourist homes that were documented for this project were Alexander's Tourist Home, Charlottesville; Evans Hotel, Winchester; J. M Woods Tourist Home, Lexington; J. T. Holmes Tourist Home, Alexandria; McGuire's Inn, Tappahannock; Mrs. C. Stephens Tourist Home, Newport News; Mrs. Kate Wiley Tourist Home, Farmville; Mrs. Lawrence Jones Tourist Home, Petersburg; Mrs. M. K. Page Tourist Home, Danville; Mrs. N. P. Washington Tourist Home, Lynchburg; Mrs. Yancey Tourist Home, Danville; and The Franklin (tourist house), Lexington. The aforementioned Ida Mae Francis Tourist House in Harrisonburg was not resurveyed for the MPD, but is another extant example of a tourist home. The J. T. Holmes Tourist Home was located within what is now an apartment building.

Commercial Resources

Commercial resources listed in *The Green Book* provided goods and services that traveling customers might require. Such resources often were located in commercial buildings, but in some instances occupied one or more rooms in a private dwelling, or a space that had been added to the dwelling to be occupied by the commercial use. These resources represent the commercial success of African American businessmen and -women, as well as places that were identified as providing safe access to various business types in segregation-era Virginia. Several types of commercial businesses were listed in *The Green Book*. Among the most popular were beauty parlors and barber shops, and the following extant examples were identified during this project: Apex Beauty Parlor, Charlottesville; Chalmer's Beauty Parlor, Richmond; Joker's Barber Shop, Charlottesville; Rattrie's Beauty Parlor, Newport News; and Walker's Barber Shop (Odd Fellow's Building), Warrenton. Another enterprise type was drug stores or pharmacies, of which three extant examples were identified during the course of this project: Fifth Street Pharmacy/ Hotel Douglas/ Humbles Building, Lynchburg; Suffolk Professional Pharmacy Inc./ H. M. Diggs Building, Suffolk; and Williams Professional Pharmacy/ Williams Professional Druggist, Williamsburg. A sole business type in the Virginia listings of *The Green Book* was McLain Tailors in Warrenton.

A subtype of commercial resources associated with *The Green Book* is restaurants. Due to commercial licensing requirements, restaurants typically occupied purpose-built spaces with kitchens large enough to serve multiple parties and space for a counter, individual tables with chairs, and/or booths with tables. Some restaurants offered simple fare while others provided a fine dining experience; the latter usually were located in larger cities rather than rural areas. The following restaurants were identified during this project: Atlantic Café, Petersburg; Blue Room Restaurant, Danville; Grant's Restaurant, Newport News; Harris' Grill, Tappahannock; Johnson's Restaurant, Staunton; Oliver's Restaurant and Texaco Station, Jamaica; Plaza Drive

Inn, Newport News; Reid's Restaurant/ Reid's Cafe, Farmville; Silver Star Restaurant, Covington; Taylor's Restaurant, Fredericksburg; The Mecca Restaurant, Lynchburg; W. J. Stokes Restaurant/Complex, Gloucester; Washington Cafe, Lexington; and Ye Shingle Inn (restaurant), Phoebus (Hampton area). The W. J. Stokes Restaurant/ Complex also is notable for including a salon and cleaners in addition to the restaurant, while Taylor's Restaurant was the only eatery that appears to have operated from a private dwelling. The Plaza Drive Inn is a remarkably intact drive-in restaurant built in 1960. The concrete block building's large windows that span the façade and wrap around the side elevations, coupled with a flat roof with cantilevered overhangs at the customer windows on the façade are character-defining features of this restaurant building type.

Entertainment and Social Resources

The assortment of Entertainment and Social Resources that were listed in *The Green Book* provided African American travelers with access to various types of experiences, including movie theaters, theaters with live performances, dance halls, clubs, fraternal organizations, YWCAs, and other social organization buildings. All of the entertainment and social resources identified during this project were located in large cities, as follows: Booker T. Theatre/ Attuck's Theater, Norfolk; Jefferson Theatre, Charlottesville; Morocco Night Club, Roanoke; Odd Fellows Dance Hall, Charlottesville; Paramount Theatre, Charlottesville; and the Phyllis Wheatley YWCA, Lynchburg

List of Virginia's Green Book Businesses, c. 1936-c.1966

The following list of Virginia businesses that were advertised in *The Green Book* at least once between 1936-1966 was compiled by a collaborative group of researchers as follows: Anne E. Bruder, Architectural Historian, Baltimore, Maryland; Susan Hellman, Architectural Historian, Alexandria, Virginia; Olivia Pettie, Research Assistant, University of Virginia; Melanie York, Research Assistant, University of Virginia; and Catherine W. Zipf, Architectural Historian, Bristol, Rhode Island. The list in its entirety is published online at *The Architecture of The Negro Traveler's Green Book* website on the Virginia webpage, https://community.village. virginia.edu/greenbooks/states/virginia/. The list is organized by the names of the Virginia cities and towns where the more than 300 businesses were located. Each of the businesses shown below has its own webpage on the website, which is hosted by The Institute for Advanced Technologies in the Humanities at the University of Virginia in Charlottesville. A hyperlink to each business's webpage is on the webpage, https://community. village.virginia.edu/greenbooks/states/virginia/. The majority of the places where these businesses operated are no longer extant, but their individual histories are important to understanding the full scope of *The Green Book's* influence in Virginia, as well as the collective impact that these businesses had on the lives of Virginians and those who frequented them.

Abingdon
· B. Nicholas
· Mrs. A. Monroe
· Mrs. H. Anderson
· Mrs. N. Brown

Alexandria
· J.A. Barrett
· J.T. Holmes

Amherst
· Sam and Sarah Hudson Tourist Home
· Southern Style Bar-B-Que

Bedford
· Marinda Jones

Bristol
· Morocco Motel (two different entries)
· Palace Hotel
· Sue King Inn

Buckroe Beach
· Bay Shore Hotel
· Club 400 (night club)

Caret
· Sessons Tavern

Catawba
· Mrs. E. Sorano

Charlottesville
· Alexander's (tourist home)
· Apex Beauty Parlor
· Big Apple Dance Hall
· Bren-Wana
· Carver Inn (hotel)
· Chauffeur's Rest (tourist home)
· Jefferson Theatre
· Joker's Barber Shop
· Odd Fellows Dance Hall
· Paramount (hotel)
· Paramount Theatre
· Virginia Inn
· Workman

Chase City
· Davis Restaurant
· Green Door (two different entries)
· Mrs. Susie Green's Tourist Home
· Red Door Restaurant

Chester

· Chesterville Motel
· Colbrook Inn (two entries)

Christianburg
· Eureka Hotel

Covington
· Mrs.Loretta S.Watson Tourist Home
· Silver Star restaurant (two entries)

Crozet
· Mtn View Farm RFD 1

Culpeper
· Cove Motel
· Maple Rest/Taylor's Tourist Home; Mrs. Mary L. Taylor

Danville
· Blue Room restaurant
· Mrs. M.K. Page
· Mrs. Mary L. Wilson
· Mrs. P.M. Logan
· Mrs. P.M. Logan
· Mrs. S.A. Overbey
· Mrs. Yancey

Disputanta
· Forest View Motel

Doswell
· Doswell Inn
· Hill Top Restaurant and Cabins

Dunbarton
· H. Jackson Tourist Home

Emporia
· Atlantic Esso Station
· M.L. Weaver Tourist Home

Farmville
· Clark's Service Station
· Dean's Restaurant
· Mrs. Kate Wiley Tourist Home
· Reid's Restaurant
· Ried's/Reid's Tavern

Fredericksburg
· McGuire Hotel
· Mrs. B. Scott
· Rappahannock Hotel
· Taylor's Restaurant (two entries)

Gloucester
· W.J. Stokes Restaurant

- Watkins Florist
- Watkins Motel

Hampton
- Abraham's Restaurant
- Abraham's Taxi Service
- Harriet's Drive-In
- Kellam's Motel
- Lyle's service station
- Paul's Barber shop
- Paul's restaurant
- Savoy Hotel
- Tillie's Beauty
- Walton's garage

Harrisonburg
- Frank's Restaurant
- Mrs. Ida M. Francis (two entries)
- Mrs. Johnson

Hewlett
- Beverly Bros. Tavern

Jamaica
- Oliver's Restaurant and Texaco Station

Lanexa
- R. & D. Motel

Lawrenceville
- Corner Inn

Lexington
- J.M. Wood
- Rose Inn (tavern)
- The Franklin (tourist house)
- Washington Restaurant

Luray
- Camp Lewis Mountain tourist home
- Holloway Inn

Lynchburg
- Fifth Street Pharmacy
- Goldendale Inn (roadhouse)
- Happyland Lake Home
- Hotel Douglas
- King's (tavern)
- Manhattan hotel
- Mrs. C. Harper
- Mrs. M. Thomas
- Mrs. N.P. Washington
- Mrs. Smith
- Petersburg hotel
- Selma's Beauty Parlor

- The Mecca Restaurant
- United service station
- Virginia Inn Restaurant
- YWCA - Lynchburg

Lynnhaven
- Ocean Breeze Beach

Martinsville
- Baldwin's Pharmacy
- Dillard's Enterprises
- Mitchell's Motel & Luncheonette
- New Nightingale Luncheonette

Meredithville
- Warrick Inn

Natural Bridge
- Mountain View Cottage Tourist Home

New Kent
- Morton's Restaurant
- Road Side Inn

Newport News
- Al Smith's Service Station
- Alice's Beauty Parlor
- Anthony Barber Shop
- Bob & Sam's Drive-Inn
- Cosmos Inn/Hotel
- Faulk Tailors
- Grant's Restaurant
- Huggins Bar B Que (M/M John Huggins)
- Johnson's Room & Board
- Mrs. C. Stephens
- Mrs. J.H. Taliaferro
- Mrs. W. Herndon
- Mrs. W.E. Barron (three entries)
- Mrs. W.R. Cooks
- New York Barber Shop
- Norman's Service Station
- Palm Tea Room
- Plaza Drive Inn
- Rattrie's Beauty Parlor
- Ridley's Drug Store
- Ridley's service station
- Ritz Tavern
- Ritz Tourist Home
- Rosetta Inn (tavern)
- Savoy restaurant
- Stop Light Restaurant

- Tavern Rest (restaurant)
- Thomas E Reese
- V&R Barber Shop
- Webb restaurant
- Woodward's Drug

Norfolk
- Alston's Esso
- Ambrose
- Arthur's Drug Store
- Betty's beauty parlor
- Booker T. Theatre
- Douglas hotel
- Foodarama
- Fulton's Pl.
- Hazel beauty parlor
- Huntersville hotel
- Jordan's Beauty Parlor
- Joyland country club
- Mac's service station
- Morning Glory Funeral Home; Harris & Harris props.
- Mount Vernon Hotel
- Mrs. Geo Collette (Mrs. Fannie BD Collette in 1949)
- Mrs. S. Noble
- Peoples tavern
- Plaza Hotel
- Prince George hotel
- Regent Drive-In
- Russell's (Tavern)
- Russell's Restaurant and Grill
- Sunlight restaurant
- Tatum's tavern/Tatum's Inn
- Vel-Ber St. Ann beauty parlor
- W.M. Tatum/Tatum's Inn
- Wheatley hotel (two entries)
- Woods Drug Store
- YMCA
- YWCA – Norfolk
- Yeargn's beauty parlor

Orange
- Mrs. B. Wood

Petersburg
- Atlantic Café
- Chatter Boy tavern
- Colbrook Inn

- Colbrook Motel
- Graves tavern
- Lord Nelson Motel
- Mrs. E. Johnson
- Mrs. Lawrence Jones
- The Walker House hotel

Phoebus
- Barber shop
- Collegian Restaurant
- Horton's Hotel
- Horton's Restaurant
- Langley Drug Store
- Perry's Tailors
- War's Service Station
- Ye Shingle Inn (restaurant)

Phoebus-Hampton
- Rendezvous Cafe

Portsmouth
- Benjamin's Confectionery and Dining Room
- Blue Haven Hotel
- Bouie's Esso Station
- Capitol Tavern
- Combo Terrace
- Durant Bayside Cottages and Snack Shoppe
- Fagan's Seafood Restaurant
- Holmes Bros. Sinclair Service Station
- Jimmie's Flying A Service Station
- Kelly's Restaurant & Motel
- Marshall's Cities Service Station
- Omicron Hotel
- Ransdell's Motel
- Sportsman's Restaurant & Motel

Princess Anne County
- Durant Bayside Cottages and Snack Shoppe

Richmond
- Adams St. service station
- Cameron's service station
- Carrington Motel
- Casino (dance hall)
- Chalmer's
- Cora's Waffle Shop
- Cora's restaurant
- Cora's tourist home

- Eggleston (Miller's)
- Fleming Auto Service
- H. Vaughan service station
- Harris hotel
- Harris service station
- Jack's tourist home
- Jimmies beauty parlor
- L. Bradford
- Little Lord's service station
- Market Inn
- Miller's & Archers hotel
- Mrs. E. Brice
- Otto's Inn
- Perry's Restaurant
- Preston St. service station
- Rest-A-Bit beauty parlor
- Roseland (dance hall)
- Scotty's barber shop
- Skinney's Barbecue
- Slaughters (two entries)
- Spence's Grill
- Terrace Club (night club)
- Williams Prof. Druggist
- Wright's Barber Shop
- YWCA - Orange Ave Richmond
- YWCA - 7th St Richmond

Roanoke
- Brooks Pharmacy
- Colvin's Tourist home; Mrs. Mary B. Colvin, prop.
- Dumas hotel
- F&G
- Maple Leaf garage
- Morocco night club
- Reynolds tourist home
- Tom's Place (tavern)
- YMCA
- YWCA - Gainsboro Rd, Roanoke
- YWCA - Roanoke

Salem
- Pine Oak Inn

South Hill
- Brown's New Cafe; Mrs. M. Brown, prop
- Brown's hotel
- Groom's hotel

- The Spot Tavern

Staunton
- F.T. Jones tourist home
- Johnson's restaurant (two entries)
- Pannell's Inn hotel

Stormont
- G.L. Davis Service Station, Cafe, and Tavern
- Midway Auto Repair

Suffolk
- E & L Lassiter Pure Oil Service Station
- Lonely Hour Inn
- Nansemond Cooperative Association, Inc.
- Suffolk Professional Pharmacy, Inc.

Tall
- Abner Virginia Motel

Tappahannock
- Harris' Grill; Thomas Harris, prop.
- Mark Haven Beach Hotel
- McGuire's Inn
- Way Side Inn

Warrenton
- Bill's restaurant
- Bland taxi
- Fowlers beauty parlor
- Joyner's taxi
- Lawson tourist home
- McLain tailors
- Parker's taxi
- Phil's restaurant
- Pinn beauty parlor
- Walker's barber shop

West Point
- Jordan's Enterprises
- Morton's Restaurant
- White's Restaurant and Barber Shop

Williamsburg
- Baker house hotel
- Booker T Motor Court
- Groves Esso Service Center; Wm. H. Lee Jr., prop
- Paradise Cafe

Winchester
- (New) Evans Hotel
- Dunbar Tea Room

- Mrs. Jos. Willis
- Ruth's restaurant

Woodford

- Dew Drop Inn Cafe, Service Station, and Dance Hall

F. Associated Property Types

Many different types of resources may be associated with *The Negro Traveler's Green Book* in Virginia. This MPD includes a broad selection of resources, which may be updated or added to in the future. Specific resource types and subtypes discussed below are based on the results of archival and field investigations completed as of this writing. Of the approximately 300 businesses in Virginia that were listed in The Green Book between 1936-1966, just 59 have been documented as still extant as of this writing, 58 of which were documented as part of the associated 2024 survey. The increasing rarity of properties associated with the significant historic themes identified herein, along with the historic and recent trends that have caused the majority of these properties to disappear, must be taken into account when evaluating a property's Register eligibility and integrity.

Discussed in more detail below, the five resource types documented to date include lodging houses; automotive related resources (auto service stations, filling/gas stations); commercial resources (restaurants, beauty parlors/barber shops, pharmacies); entertainment and social resources (theaters, clubs, dance halls, fraternal organizations, YWCAs); and commercial lodging resources (hotels, motels). Below are registration requirements for each resource type. Tables listing common architectural elements of each resource type also are provided. Additional registration requirements may be added in the future, including for specific subtypes, as more survey data becomes available and this MPD can be updated accordingly.

Resources associated with this MPD may be eligible for listing in the NRHP under one or more of the National Register eligibility criteria, as summarized below. Multiple areas of significance may be associated with resources linked to this MPD. The potential applicability of each Criterion and Area of Significance are discussed in more detail below, and are intended to be a starting point for evaluating the significance of a resource. The areas of significance, in particular, are not intended to be limiting, and do not necessarily represent the full universe of potential areas for which a resource may be significant.

This MPD provides an overview of the significant historic themes with which properties listed in *The Green Book* are associated. Resources nominated under this MPD will require additional research specific to their history. A resultant nomination will provide explanation of the property's current condition, significance, and integrity, as well as explain how the property meets the Registration Requirements described below.

Criterion A

Resources associated with *The Green Book* in Virginia may be eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places under Criterion A for their direct associations with significant events and broad patterns of history. To be considered for listing under Criterion A, a property must be associated with one or more significant events or patterns that occurred over time as discussed in the historic context. Developing out of a long history of racial discrimination and exclusionary practices, *The Green Book* provided African Americans with a reliable way to identify places of safety and refuge while traveling, in addition to supporting African American entrepreneurs listed within.

Resources may be eligible for listing under Criterion A in the following areas: (1) **Social History**, for their significant association with the Civil Rights Movement, social/civic activism, and/or their contributions to everyday African American life during Jim Crow era segregation; (2) **Commerce**, for their significant association with African American-owned and -operated businesses that served local and visiting Black customers; (3) Entertainment/**Recreation**, for their significant association with African American recreational travel, entertainment, and tourism; (4) **Ethnic Heritage: African American**, for their significant association with the experiences of African American life in Virginia during the Jim Crow segregation era, particularly with regard to the other areas of significance identified herein.

Criterion B

In order for a property to be considered eligible for listing under Criterion B, the resource must illustrate the achievements of an individual whose specific contributions to history can be identified and documented, and are associated with the historic contexts of this MPD. According to NPS guidelines on applying the National Register Criteria for Eligibility, "A property is not eligible if its only justification for significance is that it was owned or used by a person who is a member of an identifiable profession, class, or social or ethnic group. It must be shown that the person gained importance within his or her profession or group." Additionally, the subject property must be associated with the significant person's "productive life, reflecting the time period when [they] achieved significance. In some instances, this may be a person's home; in other cases, a person's business, office, laboratory, or studio may best represent [their] contribution."

Additional research and oral history interviews may reveal individually significant persons and/or critically important details to support the development of a Criterion B argument in association with this MPD, as limited site-specific research was conducted as part of the reconnaissance survey during this project. For several properties, however, research to date has already demonstrated how some of the property owners or business proprietors who advertised in *The Green Book* may have also achieved significance for their local contributions to African American social, cultural, religious, commercial, and/or political history.

Criterion C

Resources associated with this MPD may be eligible for listing if they embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or represent the "work of a master." Properties may also be eligible under Criterion C if they represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction (i.e., historic districts). While currently

available research did not reveal that any of the properties surveyed in connection with the development of this MPD are "works of a master," several are illustrative of a distinctive "type" or collection of distinctive resources. For example, through architectural survey, the automobile service station was reinforced as an identifiable and distinctive resource type which is typically one-story, composed of masonry construction (typically concrete block, though sometimes brick), features at least one garage bay, and typically includes large fixed windows. Resources may also exemplify significant vernacular types, materials, and/or craftsmanship.

Criterion D

Resources associated with this MPD may also be eligible for listing for their potential to yield information about history or pre-history. Most often resources listed under Criterion D are archaeological sites. No archaeological investigations were performed as part of the development of this MPD. However, there is the potential for archaeological resources to be identified that are associated with known resources that are no longer extant. This may include commercial, residential, or community resources that have been lost. Additional research and investigation will be required in order to nominate properties that are significant under Criterion D in association with this MPD.

Evaluating Historic Integrity

There are seven aspects that are assessed to determine whether or not a resource retains historic integrity to convey its significant associations. These aspects are Location, Setting, Design, Materials, Workmanship, Feeling, and Association. A significant resource is not required to retain all seven aspects of integrity in order to be eligible for nomination under this MPD. Rather, the aspects of integrity that are associated with the property's specific area of significance are needed. Evolved aspects of integrity may be identified and associated with the nature of the property's historic significance. An important quality of many resources that may be nominated under this MPD is that they typically are associated with individuals and communities during a period of political, economic, social, civil, and educational restrictions. As such, the integrity of a resource that is associated with an area of significance identified in this MPD must be evaluated according to the pervasive circumstances of the period of significance as African American people and communities experienced them. For example, some buildings may have been originally constructed for one use, but altered to accommodate a change in use (e.g., additions to expand a single-family dwelling to accommodate travelers as a Lodging House were identified at multiple examples of this resource subtype).

Some resources associated with this MPD are no longer in use and have been vacant for a number of years. While vacancy has often led to significant deterioration, poor condition does not equate to poor integrity. Instead, the presence of character-defining features that are most closely associated with the property's period and area(s) of significance are to inform the integrity analysis. During their property's period of significance, property owners often carried out repairs utilizing readily available materials and workmanship as needed for routine maintenance; such changes do not automatically constitute a loss of integrity. With regard to some commercial resource types, notably gas stations and restaurants, changing local code requirements and federal environmental regulations during the mid- to late-20th century, in particular, may have prompted repairs, renovations, and alterations that were mandatory in order for the property owner to remain in business. Furthermore, alterations made

during a property's period of significance, such as additions or material changes, were frequently viewed as improvements that symbolized an individual's, organizations, or business's success or progress, which a community celebrated. When evaluating a property's integrity of workmanship, design, and materials, alterations and repairs associated with any or all of the above factors are to be examined in the context of the resource's area(s) and period of significance.

Within historic Black neighborhoods, extensive demolition, displacement, and new construction occurred between c. 1940-c. 1980 highway construction and urban renewal projects carried out by federal, state, and local governments. Local zoning practices that permitted establishment of land uses, such as industrial, large-scale waste disposal, recycling, energy generation and transmission, mining, and similar activities incompatible with a residential area also are common in both urban and rural settings. Such projects and land uses were rooted in professional practices now identified as structural and environmental racism. A resource affected by such activities will have changes to the location, setting, feeling, and association of historic properties in areas where they occurred. The consequences of such activities and projects are part of the significance of surviving resources associated with The Green Book because they are illustrative of the many challenges overcome by Black individuals and communities prior to and during the dismantling of Jim Crow segregation and establishment of civil rights for African American at a level unprecedented in the nation's history. Analysis of a property's integrity of location, setting, feeling, and association, therefore, must take into account the effects of infrastructure construction on an individual property and should be understood as contributing to that property's integrity.

Associated Property Types

1) **Lodging Houses**

   Description: This property type includes residential dwellings that were used as lodging places for African American travelers stopping in or passing through cities and towns across Virginia. Lodging Houses may be single-family dwellings, multi-family dwellings, townhomes or rowhouses, and/or dwellings that have been converted from single-family to multi-family use; historic additions to expand buildings to accommodate more travelers commonly occurred during the property's historic use. These resources are typically located on a single parcel. Lodging Houses associated with this MPD are typically one to two stories in height; however, they may vary in size, style, construction method, and materials. Lodging House properties may also contain various types of outbuildings and/or secondary dwellings that were utilized during the property's period of significance.

   Significance: Lodging Houses listed in *The Green Book* provided places of refuge and lodging for African American travelers throughout Virginia during the Jim Crow segregation era. Identified with names including, but not limited to, "Tourist Home," "Inn," and "Hotel," Lodging Houses provided safe accommodations for travelers, as well as financial opportunities for property owners, especially women. As Lodging Houses were typically located within historic African American communities and neighborhoods, they also signaled to travelers the geographic areas that may be close to Black business districts and other safe spaces. A highly significant aspect of lodging houses is that, during the long Civil Rights Movement, these resources served

as safe houses for individuals engaged in civil rights activism, voter registration, legal investigations, and similar activities. The Lodging House resource type is significant under Criterion A in the areas of Ethnic Heritage: African American, Commerce, Entertainment/Recreation, and Social History, under Criterion B for association with individuals significant in the above areas, and/or under Criterion C for Architecture. Individual examples of this resource type also may have additional areas of significance.

Registration Requirements:

In order to qualify for listing under this MPD, Lodging Houses must be directly associated with *The Green Book* under the themes described in this MPD. They should retain sufficient physical integrity that conveys their association with one or more of the areas of significance identified herein. Based on the reconnaissance survey conducted in association with this MPD, Lodging Houses were the second most commonly extant resource type.

<u>Aspects of Integrity</u>

<u>Location and Setting:</u> The Lodging House resource type often was situated within a segregated residential area during its period of significance. The type typically remains in its original location. Due to urban renewal and highway construction, however, the building may have been relocated either within its original parcel or to a new site. Relocation that occurred during the property's period of significance will not affect integrity of setting. The circumstances of the building's relocation after its period of significance are to be evaluated on an individual basis when evaluating its integrity of location.

With regard to setting, in rural areas Lodging Houses often stood in a residential area situated along the outskirts of a town or within an unincorporated Black community with origins that extended back to the Reconstruction Era or earlier. In urban areas, Lodging Houses were located within a segregated Black neighborhood. The setting of Lodging Houses may have been entirely residential in character, or have included a mix of residential and other uses, such as commercial, recreational, educational, religious, and social. Because many Black neighborhoods experienced extensive demolitions due to 1940s-c. 1980 highway construction, urban renewal projects, and/or local zoning for land uses and activities incompatible with a neighborhood's or individual resource's residential character, the original setting of a Lodging House may have been altered. In such cases, these alterations are part of the resource's integrity of setting rather than a negative effect because the consequences are part of the significance of surviving resources associated with The Green Book. The incompatible activities and uses are illustrative of the many challenges overcome by Black individuals and communities prior to and during the dismantling of Jim Crow segregation and establishment of civil rights for African Americans at a level unprecedented in the nation's history.

Design, Materials, and Workmanship: The design, materials, and workmanship of Lodging Houses vary based on whether the resource originally was a single-family home, multiple-family dwelling, rowhouse, or townhome, when the resource came into use as a Lodging House, and when it was originally constructed. Replacement of materials in kind are appropriate when needed to keep a resource in good repair and active use. Where historic materials have been

replaced with functionally and/or visually similar but newer types of synthetic materials, a resource's integrity of materials and workmanship is somewhat diminished depending on the extent of the replacement materials and whether they occurred during the property's period of significance. Extensive use of replacement materials after the property's period of significance may result in proportional erosion of integrity, depending upon the resource's materials, design, and workmanship during its period of significance. Additions on buildings that date to its period of significance and allowed the resource to continue or expand its historic use do not erode integrity of design, materials, and workmanship. Those that postdate the period of significance are to be evaluated on a case-by-case basis to understand the resource's continued integrity of design, materials, and workmanship.

Feeling and Association: Location of a Lodging House within or adjacent to a historically segregated area of residential resources, or mixed with commercial, recreational, educational, religious, and social uses, will contribute to the resource's integrity of feeling and association. The retention of associated historic-age properties in proximity to the Lodging House contributes to its integrity of setting and, therefore, integrity of feeling and association. It will not be atypical, however, for a Lodging House to be in a location affected by the types of extensive demolition, displacement, new construction, and/or incompatible land uses and activities noted above with regard to integrity of location. A resource affected by such activities will have changes to its location, setting, feeling, and association. Analysis of these four aspects of a property's integrity, therefore, must take into account the effects of such alterations on an individual property and should be understood as contributing to that property's integrity of location, setting, feeling, and association. With regard to integrity of association, to be nominated under this MPD, the Lodging House must have been listed in The Green Book at least once during the guide's publication between 1936-1966.

Table #: Common Elements of Lodging Houses associated with *The Green Book* in Virginia

Element	Typical Components and Materials
Stories	Generally, one to two stories, but typically no more than three
Foundation	Continuous, pier, raised, or slab on grade Materials: brick, concrete,
Structural System	Frame or masonry (brick or concrete block)
Exterior Treatment	Weatherboard, wood shingle, masonry, stucco, masonry veneer, asbestos, vinyl, aluminum, composite, or some combination
Roof	Roof shape varies Materials: most common are standing seam metal, asphalt shingle, composition roll, composite shingle
Entrances	Typically, single or double leaf; Usually wood, metal, or fiberglass
Windows	Windows range in style and may include but are not limited to sash, fixed picture, casement, jalousie Materials: most common are wood, aluminum, and vinyl

Additions	Historic additions are common, but not requisite for listing. If additions were constructed after the period of significance, they should not overwhelm the original structure, unless they are specifically tied to the use of the property as a Lodging House during the period of significance.
Interiors	Interiors were not evaluated as part of this project; however, they should generally retain their historic plan and circulation pattern. Common interior alterations include kitchen and bathroom remodels, removal of flooring materials such as carpeting and asbestos or other vinyl covering, and paint.
Secondary Resources	Residences may have secondary resources, but they are not required for listing. Common secondary resources include outbuildings, garages, carports, and other residential structures.

2) **Automotive Related Resources (Service Stations, Filling Stations, Etc.)**

Description: Automotive Related Resources are property types that are directly related to the transportation needs of African American travelers across Virginia. These may include, but are not limited to, auto service stations and filling/ gas stations. These resources range in size, style, construction method, and materials; however, they are often one-story, have flat or low-sloped roofs, are of masonry construction, include at least one garage bay, and have large fixed windows in a customer service/office area of the building. They are typically, but not exclusively, located along primary streets and often include parking lots, light or sign posts, and gas pumps (or evidence they existed historically).

Significance: Automotive Related Resources have a direct link to *The Green Book*, as every African American driver would have required a safe place to refuel and address any automotive concerns during their road trips across Virginia. This resource type is significant under Criterion A in the areas of Ethnic Heritage: African American, Commerce, and Social History. Some Automotive Related Resources may also be eligible under Criterion B for association with African American business owners significant in the above areas. An Automotive Related Resource may also be eligible under Criterion C for Architecture as a significant example of this visually distinctive resource type and/or for its architectural design.

Registration Requirements: In order to qualify for listing under this MPD, Automotive Related Resources, including the auto service station and filling/gas station subtypes, must be directly associated with *The Green Book* under the themes described in this MPD. They should retain sufficient physical integrity that conveys their association with one or more of the areas of significance identified herein.

Aspects of Integrity

Location and Setting: During its period of significance, the Automotive Related Resource type often was situated along a road leading into a town or urban area, at the corner of an intersection within a city or town setting, or within an unincorporated rural community at a crossroads or other prominent location. Regardless of specific location, the resource was in a place that was historically part of a Black community or neighborhood. The type typically remains in its original location.

With regard to setting, in rural areas Automotive Related Resources often stood along a road or highway along the outskirts of a town or within an unincorporated Black community with origins that extended back to the Reconstruction Era or earlier. In urban areas, Automotive-Related Resources were located within a segregated Black community. The setting of an Automotive-Related Resource likely would have been commercial in character or have included a mix of residential and other uses, such as recreational, educational, religious, social, and residential. Because many Black neighborhoods experienced extensive demolitions due to 1940s-c. 1980 highway construction, urban renewal projects, and/or local zoning for land uses and activities incompatible with a neighborhood's or individual resource's historic character, the original setting of an Automotive Related Resource may have been altered. In such cases, these alterations are part of the resource's integrity of setting rather than a negative effect because the consequences are part of the significance of surviving resources associated with The Green Book. The incompatible activities and uses are illustrative of the many challenges overcome by Black individuals and communities prior to and during the dismantling of Jim Crow segregation and establishment of civil rights for African Americans at a level unprecedented in the nation's history.

Design, Materials, and Workmanship: The design, materials, and workmanship of Automotive Related Resources include concrete block or brick walls, a flat roof, one or more display windows that indicate the location of a customer service and/or office area, a single-leaf entry with a wood- or metal-frame door with at least one large pane of glass in the upper half, and at least one garage bay with a multiple-light, metal-frame, roll-up door. Larger Automotive Related Resources may have side entries to one or more restrooms. Replacement of materials in kind are appropriate when needed to keep a resource in good repair and active use. Where historic materials have been replaced with functionally and/or visually similar but newer types of synthetic materials, a resource's integrity of materials and workmanship is somewhat diminished depending on the extent of the replacement materials and whether they occurred during the property's period of significance. Extensive use of replacement materials after the property's period of significance may result in proportional erosion of integrity, depending upon the resource's materials, design, and workmanship during its period of significance. Additions on buildings that date to its period of significance and allowed the resource to continue or expand its historic use do not erode integrity of design, materials, and workmanship. Those that postdate the period of significance are to be evaluated on a case-by-case basis to understand the resource's continued integrity of design, materials, and workmanship. Retention of a paved area for customers' use for accessing gas pumps, garage bays, and/or parking are typical of Automotive Related Resources.

For Automotive Related Resources that historically included gas pumps, retention of the pumps, or evidence of the pumps' location, such as a raised concrete island or a canopy, adds to its

integrity of design, materials, and workmanship. Environmental regulations introduced during the 1980s forced many individual gas station owners to cease gasoline sales if they were unable to upgrade underground storage tanks to meet new standards. In such cases, the pumps may have been removed.

Feeling and Association: Location of an Automotive Related Resource within or adjacent to a historically segregated commercial area, or an area with mixed commercial, recreational, residential, educational, religious, and social uses, will contribute to the resource's integrity of feeling and association. The retention of associated historic-age properties in proximity to the Automotive Related Resource contributes to its integrity of setting and, therefore, integrity of feeling and association. It will not be atypical, however, for an Automotive Related Resource to be in a location affected by the types of extensive demolition, displacement, new construction, and/or incompatible land uses and activities noted above with regard to integrity of location. A resource affected by such activities will have changes to its location, setting, feeling, and association. Analysis of these four aspects of a property's integrity, therefore, must take into account the effects of such alterations on an individual property and should be understood as contributing to that property's integrity of location, setting, feeling, and association. With regard to integrity of association, to be nominated under this MPD, the Automotive Related Resource must have been listed in The Green Book at least once during the guide's publication between 1936-1966.

Table #: Common Elements of Auto Service Stations associated with The Green Book in Virginia

Element	Typical Components and Materials
Stories	Typically, one story, but generally not more than two
Foundation	Usually continuous (though may be a slab) Materials: concrete, brick
Structural System	Usually masonry: concrete block, brick
Exterior Treatment	Exposed concrete block structure, brick, brick veneer, weatherboard, stucco, asbestos, aluminum, vinyl or some combination
Roof	Usually flat with asphalt or rubber membrane, though roof style and material may vary
Entrances	Single or double leaf entrances, track or overhead loading doors of varying materials
Windows	Often large fixed windows (storefront or industrial windows); some also have hopper, awning, or sash windows Materials: steel, aluminum, vinyl, wood
Secondary Resources	Some auto service stations may have secondary resources; these are not required for listing. Examples include, but are not limited to:

	gas pumps/gas pump curbs, light posts

3) **Commercial Resources (Restaurants, Beauty Parlors/Barber Shops, Pharmacies, etc.)**

Description: Commercial Resources are property types that are directly associated with African American businesses listed in *The Green Book*. Property types typically include commercial buildings; however, they may also include residential or other building types that were converted for use for or shared with a business. To date, the following commercial subtypes have been identified: restaurants, beauty parlors/barber shops, and pharmacies. Commercial Resources are typically, but not always, located in town or urban areas. Due to the variety of activities associated with Commercial Resources, they have a range of sizes, characteristics, materials, and styles.

Significance: Commercial Resources have direct links to African American businesses that were listed in *The Green Book* throughout Virginia. These resources represent the commercial success of African American business owners, as well as places that Black travelers recognized as providing safe access to various business types in segregation-era Virginia. Some commercial resources may have also provided safe locations for civic and social activists to gather or hold events. Resources will typically be eligible under Criterion A in the areas of Ethnic Heritage: African American, Commerce, and Social History; additional areas of significance may be identified for individual resources. Select resources may also be eligible under Criterion B for association with notable African American business owners who made significant contributions in one or more of the above areas of significance, and/or Criterion C for Architecture.

Registration Requirements: In order to qualify for listing under this MPD, Commercial Resources must be directly associated with *The Green Book* under the themes described in this MPD. They should retain sufficient physical integrity that conveys their historic association with one or more of the areas of significance identified herein. Based on the reconnaissance survey conducted in association with this MPD, Commercial Resources were the most commonly extant *Green Book* resource type.

Aspects of Integrity

Location and Setting: The Commercial Resource type often was situated within a segregated Black neighborhood or community during its period of significance. The type typically remains in its original location. Due to urban renewal and highway construction, however, the resource may have been relocated either within its original parcel or to a new site. Relocation that occurred during the property's period of significance will not affect integrity of setting. The circumstances of the building's relocation after its period of significance are to be evaluated on an individual basis when evaluating if its integrity of location affects its ability to convey its significant associations.

With regard to setting, in rural areas Commercial Resources often stood in or near a residential area situated along the outskirts of a town or within the unincorporated boundary of a Black community with roots that extended back to the Reconstruction Era or earlier. In urban areas, Commercial Resources were located within a segregated Black neighborhood, where the setting may have been entirely commercial in character or have included a mix of commercial and other uses, such as residential, recreational, educational, religious, and social. Because many Black neighborhoods experienced extensive demolitions due to 1940s-c.1980 highway construction, urban renewal projects, and/or local zoning for land uses and activities incompatible with a neighborhood's or individual resource's historic character, the original setting of a Commercial Resource may have been altered. In such cases, these alterations are part of the resource's integrity of setting rather than a negative effect because the consequences are part of the significance of surviving resources associated with The Green Book. The incompatible activities and uses are illustrative of the many challenges overcome by Black individuals and communities prior to and during the dismantling of Jim Crow segregation and establishment of civil rights for African Americans at a level unprecedented in the nation's history.

Design, Materials, and Workmanship: The design, materials, and workmanship of Commercial Resources vary based on whether the resource originally was a beauty parlor, barber shop, restaurant, pharmacy, or other type of retail business. For example, in an urban setting such as Richmond's Jackson Ward, a beauty parlor/barber shop often occupied a commercial storefront within a group of buildings of similar scale, massing, and type. Typically, one or two stories in height, the commercial building likely had large display windows flanking a centered entry with a single-leaf door. Signage advertising the business's name may have been painted, written in attached lettering, or displayed on a flat nameplate that spanned all or part of the facade above the storefront level. The building's gently sloped roof often was concealed behind a parapet and some decorative masonry, such as a corbeled brick cornice or string course of cast stone, may be present. A pharmacy may have occupied a similar type of building, while restaurants in an urban setting may have been freestanding to allow space for the specialized equipment, delivery and offloading, ventilation, and other requirements of a commercial-scale kitchen, particularly as building codes changed over time. Off-street parking for customers is likely to have been limited during the historic period, but may have been added at a later time, especially in an area where demolitions have occurred.

In some places in urban, town, and rural settings, a commercial use may have been within a building originally constructed for another purpose. The former Taylor's Restaurant in Fredericksburg, for example, operated from a dwelling. Similarly, beauty parlors and barber shops may have been located within a person's dwelling, within a small, purpose-built addition, or within a space such as a garage that had been outfitted with equipment utilized by hair stylists. In such cases, the significant historic use may be represented by retention of design, workmanship, and materials that were present during the property's period of significance, but those elements may be dissimilar to the typical aspects of integrity for a building purpose-built for commercial use.

As popular tastes and marketing strategies changed between the 1930s-1960s, facades of commercial buildings may have been altered on a regular basis to continue appealing to potential

customers. Often new cladding was installed directly over existing material. Lighting fixtures, entry doors, signage type, and exterior color schemes also may have been updated. Such design, materials, and workmanship that occurred during a property's period of significance do not detract from its integrity. As part of routine maintenance, replacement of materials in kind are appropriate when needed to keep a resource in good repair and active use. Where historic materials have been replaced with functionally and/or visually similar but newer types of synthetic materials, a resource's integrity of materials and workmanship may be somewhat diminished depending on the extent of the replacement materials and whether they occurred during the property's period of significance. Extensive use of replacement materials after the property's period of significance may result in proportional erosion of integrity, depending upon the resource's materials, design, and workmanship during its period of significance. Additions on buildings that date to its period of significance and allowed the resource to continue or expand its historic use do not erode integrity of design, materials, and workmanship. Those that postdate the period of significance are to be evaluated on a case-by-case basis to understand the resource's continued integrity of design, materials, and workmanship.

Feeling and Association: Location of a Commercial Resource within or adjacent to a historically segregated area of commercial resources, or mixed with commercial, residential, recreational, educational, religious, and social uses, will contribute to the resource's integrity of feeling and association. The retention of associated historic-age properties in proximity to the Commercial Resource contributes to its integrity of setting and, therefore, integrity of feeling and association. It will not be atypical, however, for a Commercial Resource to be in a location affected by the types of extensive demolition, displacement, new construction, and/or incompatible land uses and activities noted above with regard to integrity of location. A resource affected by such activities will have changes to its location, setting, feeling, and association. Analysis of these four aspects of a property's integrity, therefore, must take into account the effects of such alterations on an individual property and should be understood as contributing to that property's integrity of location, setting, feeling, and association. With regard to integrity of association, to be nominated under this MPD, the Commercial Resource must have been listed in The Green Book at least once during the guide's publication between 1936-1966.

Table #: Common Elements of Commercial Resources associated with The Green Book in Virginia

Element	Typical Components and Materials
Stories	Typically one, two, or three stories
Foundation	Usually continuous (though may have slab) Materials: concrete, brick
Structural System	Wood frame or masonry (concrete block or brick)
Exterior Treatment	Brick, brick veneer, exposed concrete block, weatherboard, vinyl,

	aluminum, asbestos, or some combination
Roof	Roof types vary, though usually flat or front/side gable Materials: asphalt, composite shingle, metal, asbestos
Entrances	Single or double leaf entrances Materials: wood, metal, composite, vinyl, or some combination
Windows	Window types vary, but may include fixed (storefront or industrial), sash, hopper, or awning Materials: wood, steel, aluminum, vinyl
Additions	If additions were constructed after the period of significance, they should not overwhelm the original structure
Additional Elements	May include awnings or signs
Secondary Resources	Some may include secondary resources, but these are not required for listing.

4) **Entertainment and Social Resources (Theaters, Clubs, Dance Halls, Fraternal Organizations, YWCAs, etc.)**

Description: Entertainment and Social Resources are property types listed in *The Green Book* that provided African American travelers with access to various types of entertainment and social opportunities across Virginia. Resource subtypes identified to date theaters, dance halls, clubs, fraternal organizations, YWCAs, or other social organization buildings. These resources are typically located in town or urban areas, but have a range of sizes, characteristics, materials, and styles. Due to the variety of activities associated with Entertainment and Social Resources, they have a range of sizes, characteristics, materials, and styles.

Significance: Entertainment and Social Resources have direct links to businesses, social organizations, and venues listed in The Green Book offering entertainment and social opportunities across Virginia. These resources provided welcoming and accessible opportunities for African American travelers to enjoy entertainment and social events during Jim Crow era segregation. *The Green Book*, additionally, was frequently used as a guide for African American entertainers to plan their tour routes and identify suitable locations for their events. Some commercial resources may have also provided safe locations for civic and social activists to gather or hold events, in part due to the routine coming and going of customers that typified their function, which could be used to shield the arrival of newcomers engaged in activism. Entertainment and Social Resources are significant under Criterion A in the areas of Ethnic Heritage: African American, Entertainment/Recreation, Social History, and Commerce. Some resources may also be eligible under Criterion B for association with African American entertainers, social leaders, and/or business owners significant in the above areas of significance,

and/or Criterion C for Architecture. Individual examples of this resource type, or a subtype, also may have additional areas of significance.

Registration Requirements: In order to qualify for listing under this MPD, Entertainment and Social Resources must be directly associated with *The Green Book* under the themes described in this MPD. They must retain physical integrity that conveys their association with one or more of the areas of significance identified herein. historic context herein.

<u>Aspects of Integrity</u>

Location and Setting: The Entertainment and Social Resource type often was situated within a segregated commercial or mixed-use area during its period of significance. The type typically remains in its original location. Due to urban renewal and highway construction, however, the building may have been relocated either within its original parcel or to a new site. Relocation that occurred during the property's period of significance will not affect integrity of setting. The circumstances of the building's relocation after its period of significance are to be evaluated on an individual basis when evaluating its integrity of location.

With regard to setting, few examples of extant Entertainment and Social Resources were identified in rural areas and insufficient data has been collected to assess likely aspects of a typical historic setting. Many rural, unincorporated Black communities, however, are known to have had a fraternal organization, such as a Masonic lodge, that was active during the segregation era. An example is the Averett community in Mecklenburg County, where the Averett Union Masonic Lodge occupied a former elementary school on the same property as the Wharton Memorial Baptist Church. Successive use of buildings, particularly those suited to easy adaptation for use by groups of people, whether students, lodge members, or a social club, was common in rural and unincorporated Black communities during the Jim Crow era. Integrity of setting for such resources is, therefore, to be evaluated on a case-by-case basis. Within incorporated towns and urban areas, Entertainment and Social Resources were located within a segregated Black neighborhood. The setting of Entertainment and Social Resources is likely to have been either largely commercial in character or within an area that included a mix of residential and other uses, such as commercial, recreational, educational, religious, and social. Because many Black neighborhoods experienced extensive demolitions due to 1940s-c. 1980 highway construction, urban renewal projects, and/or local zoning for land uses and activities incompatible with a neighborhood's or individual resource's residential character, the original setting of an Entertainment and Social Resource may have been altered. In such cases, these alterations are part of the resource's integrity of setting rather than a negative effect because the consequences are part of the significance of surviving resources associated with The Green Book. The incompatible activities and uses are illustrative of the many challenges overcome by Black individuals and communities prior to and during the dismantling of Jim Crow segregation and establishment of civil rights for African Americans at a level unprecedented in the nation's history.

Design, Materials, and Workmanship: The design, materials, and workmanship of an Entertainment and Social Resource varies based on the subtype of its historic use during its

period of significance. For example, a building that historically housed a YWCA typically includes meeting rooms, offices, and small dormitory rooms. Theaters, clubs, and dance halls more often had large, open interior spaces where people could congregate to enjoy live musical entertainment, a movie, dancing, or similar activities. A raised stage at one end of the room, equipped with speakers, microphones, and/or stage lights, generally was necessary for these types of entertainment. Fenestration of Entertainment and Social Resources varies but often is not characterized by the types of large display windows found on retail businesses, beauty parlors, and restaurants. Instead, windows may be limited in number and size due to the need to control lighting levels within the entertainment space. These buildings also typically included restrooms, an office area for business management needs, an entry lobby or large vestibule, and, for theaters, a ticket booth. Interior finishes, including flooring, paint colors, lighting fixtures, door types, and trim, are likely to have been updated over time in response to routine wear and tear. Due to the variations in interior plans, depending on the property's historic resource, Entertainment and Social Resources should be evaluated on a case-by-case basis with regard to integrity of design, materials, and workmanship.

As with other resource types discussed in this MPD, in terms of routine maintenance and renovations, exterior alterations are likely to include variations in color schemes, signage styles, lighting fixtures, entry doors, and exterior cladding. Such changes to design, materials, and workmanship that occurred during a property's period of significance do not detract from the property's integrity. Replacement of materials in kind are appropriate when needed to keep a resource in good repair and active use. Where historic materials have been replaced with functionally and/or visually similar but newer types of synthetic materials, a resource's integrity of materials and workmanship is somewhat diminished depending on the extent of the replacement materials and whether they occurred during the property's period of significance. Extensive use of replacement materials after the property's period of significance may result in proportional erosion of integrity, depending upon the resource's materials, design, and workmanship during its period of significance. Additions on buildings that date to its period of significance and allowed the resource to continue or expand its historic use do not erode integrity of design, materials, and workmanship. Those that postdate the period of significance are to be evaluated on a case-by-case basis to understand the resource's continued integrity of design, materials, and workmanship.

Importantly, some Entertainment and Recreation Resources, such as dance halls and clubs, may have been informal enterprises that occupied buildings which may not meet today's local zoning or building codes. Turnover in occupants during a property's period of significance also may have been frequent. These attributes do not detract from a building's integrity of design, workmanship, and materials. With regard to buildings that once housed local YWCA branches, interior floor plans may have been altered during or after the property's period of significance as the organization's programming and services changed over time. Such alterations must be considered within the context of the local branch YWCA's evolving mission and their association with the state/national organizations' growth and maturation, or in some cases, with a local group's dwindling resources and activities.

Feeling and Association: Location of an Entertainment and Social Resource within or adjacent to a historically segregated area of commercial, or mixed with commercial, residential, recreational, educational, religious, and social uses, will contribute to the resource's integrity of feeling and association. The retention of associated historic-age properties in proximity to the Entertainment and Social Resource contributes to its integrity of setting and, therefore, integrity of feeling and association. It will not be atypical, however, for an Entertainment and Social Resource to be in a location affected by the types of extensive demolition, displacement, new construction, and/or incompatible land uses and activities noted above with regard to integrity of location. A resource affected by such activities will have changes to its location, setting, feeling, and association. Analysis of these four aspects of a property's integrity, therefore, must take into account the effects of such alterations on an individual property and should be understood as contributing to that property's integrity of location, setting, feeling, and association. With regard to integrity of association, to be nominated under this MPD, the Social and Entertainment Resource must have been listed in *The Green Book* at least once during the guide's publication between 1936-1966.

Table #: Common Elements of Theaters associated with *The Green Book* in Virginia

Element	Typical Components and Materials
Stories	Typically one, two, or three stories
Foundation	Continuous or slab Materials: Concrete or brick
Structural System	Wood frame or masonry (brick or concrete block)
Exterior Treatment	Brick, brick veneer, exposed concrete block, weatherboard, vinyl, aluminum, stucco, asbestos, or some combination
Roof	Roof shape vary Materials: most common are asphalt, asphalt shingle, composite shingle, composition roll, metal
Entrances	Single or double leaf doors Materials: wood, aluminum, vinyl
Windows	Windows range in style and may include but are not limited to fixed storefront or sash Materials: wood, aluminum, vinyl
Additional Features	Some may include marquee signs and lighting, and/or other signs
Additions	If additions were constructed after the period of significance, they should not overwhelm the original structure.

5) **Commercial Lodging Resources (Hotels, Motels, etc.)**

Description: Commercial Lodging resources are property types that are directly associated with commercial lodging businesses listed in *The Green Book*. Whereas Lodging Houses include resources that originally served as dwellings and were used and/or modified to accommodate travelers, Commercial Lodging resources include larger-scale resources such as hotels and motels that were located in commercial and/or purpose-built buildings or complexes. These resources range in size, materials, and appearance.

> **Hotels:** Hotels associated with the Commercial Lodging resource type are typically located in one-, two-, or three-story commercial buildings, many with flat or low sloped roofs and clad with brick, though materials and roof shape may vary. While Commercial Lodging properties may include secondary resources, hotel accommodations are typically confined to a single building. Some of these resources may have also been used for alternate commercial purposes before, during, or after their use as a hotel. Hotels associated with this MPD are often, but not exclusively, located in town/urban areas.

> **Motels**: Motels are typically one- to two-story buildings and can include a single building or a small complex of buildings. Many motel properties include an office building and one or more motel buildings with motel rooms; some properties may also include a community building. Motels are often, though not always, located along primary streets or major transportation routes, include parking lots, and are characterized by exterior entries to the lodging units.

Significance: Commercial Lodging resources provide direct links to larger-scale commercial and/or purpose-built lodging accommodations listed in *The Green Book* for African American travelers in Virginia. Compared to Lodging Houses, which were typically dwellings adapted to meet the needs of travelers, Commercial Lodging resources were generally built specifically to provide lodging to travelers and/or provided lodging on a larger scale than Lodging Houses. Due to the routine coming and going of travelers that shielded arrivals of newcomers to an area, a Commercial Lodging resource may have served as a safe house for civil rights activists involved in legal investigations, voter registration, and other activities. Hotels and motels will typically be eligible under Criterion A in the areas of Ethnic Heritage: African American, Commerce, Social History, and Entertainment/Recreation, and/or other areas of significance. Select resources may also be eligible under Criterion B for association with notable African American business men and women, and/or Criterion C for Architecture. Individual examples of this resource type also may have additional areas of significance.

Registration Requirements: In order to qualify for listing under this MPD, Commercial Lodging Resources must be directly associated with *The Green Book* under the themes described in this MPD. They should retain sufficient physical integrity that conveys their association with one or more of the areas of significance identified herein. Based on the reconnaissance survey conducted in association with this MPD, Commercial Lodging resources such as Motels are amongst the rarest extant resource types.

<u>Aspects of Integrity</u>

Location and Setting: The Commercial Lodging Resource type often was situated within a segregated commercial or mixed-use area during its period of significance. Motels are associated specifically with automobile travel as they were built during the automobile age, whereas hotel buildings, particularly those in urban areas, may predate widespread automobile use. Motels, therefore, are likely to be situated along a road leading into a town or urban area or, if within an unincorporated rural community, at a prominent location along the main route. Hotels, on the other hand, are typically in town or urban settings. Regardless of specific location, the resource was in a place that was historically part of a Black community or neighborhood. The type typically remains in its original location. Due to the nature of a motel's design, and the scale of hotels, these building are unlikely to have been relocated.

With regard to setting, motels often stood along the outskirts of a town or urban area adjacent to a major route, while hotels were within urban or town settings within a segregated Black neighborhood or community. The setting of Commercial Lodging Resources may have been entirely commercial in character, or have included a mix of residential and other uses, such as commercial, recreational, educational, religious, and social. Because many Black neighborhoods experienced extensive demolitions due to 1940s-c. 1980 highway construction, urban renewal projects, and/or local zoning for land uses and activities incompatible with a neighborhood's or individual resource's residential character, the original setting of a Lodging House may have been altered. In such cases, these alterations are part of the resource's integrity of setting, rather than a negative effect because the consequences are part of the significance of surviving resources associated with The Green Book. The incompatible activities and uses are illustrative of the many challenges overcome by Black individuals and communities prior to and during the dismantling of Jim Crow segregation and establishment of civil rights for African Americans at a level unprecedented in the nation's history.

Design, Materials, and Workmanship: The design, materials, and workmanship of Commercial Lodging Resources vary based on whether the resource originally was a hotel or motel. A hotel may have occupied a building that originally served a different purpose or, conversely, the building may have been adapted for other use after the hotel ceased operation. Motels were typically purpose-built to serve automobile travelers. They are typically one-story buildings with exterior entries to the lodging units. Parking lots provided a space for a traveler's automobile directly in front of the entry door. An office or combined office/manager's apartment may have been located at one end of the building to serve travelers checking in and out of the motel. Alternatively, the property owner may have occupied a secondary dwelling on the property. Aspects such as these are character defining features of motel designs. Hotels may have been located above a storefront level that housed a retail business. A small office or desk where lodgers could check in and out of the hotel was a typical feature. Rooms were accessed from interior corridors that bisected each floor. Due to the wear and tear typical of hotels and motels, interior finishes are likely to have been repaired and/or replaced on a regular basis. Replacement of materials in kind are appropriate when needed to keep a resource in good repair and active use. Where historic materials have been replaced with functionally and/or visually similar but newer types of synthetic materials, a resource's integrity of materials and workmanship is somewhat

diminished depending on the extent of the replacement materials and whether they occurred during the property's period of significance. Extensive use of replacement materials after the property's period of significance may result in proportional erosion of integrity, particularly if carried out to facilitate conversion of the building to an unrelated use. Additions on buildings that date to its period of significance and allowed the resource to continue or expand its historic use do not erode integrity of design, materials, and workmanship. Those that postdate the period of significance are to be evaluated on a case-by-case basis to understand the resource's continued integrity of design, materials, and workmanship.

Feeling and Association: Location of a Commercial Lodging Resource within or adjacent to a historically segregated area of residential resources, or mixed with commercial, recreational, educational, religious, and social uses, will contribute to the resource's integrity of feeling and association. The retention of associated historic-age properties in proximity to the Commercial Lodging Resource contributes to its integrity of setting and, therefore, integrity of feeling and association. It will not be atypical, however, for a Commercial Lodging Resource to be in a location affected by the types of extensive demolition, displacement, new construction, and/or incompatible land uses and activities noted above with regard to integrity of location. A resource affected by such activities will have changes to its location, setting, feeling, and association. Analysis of these four aspects of a property's integrity, therefore, must take into account the effects of such alterations on an individual property and should be understood as contributing to that property's integrity of location, setting, feeling, and association. With regard to integrity of association, to be nominated under this MPD, the Lodging House must have been listed in The Green Book at least once during the guide's publication between 1936-1966.

Table #: Common Elements of Motels associated with The Green Book in Virginia

Element	Typical Components and Materials
Stories	Typically one story, but generally not more than two
Foundation	Usually continuous Materials: brick, concrete
Structural System	Wood frame or masonry (brick, concrete block)
Exterior Treatment	Brick, brick veneer, exposed concrete block, weatherboard, vinyl, aluminum, stucco, asbestos, or some combination
Roof	Roof shapes may vary Materials typically include: asphalt, composite shingle, composition roll
Entrances	Single or double leaf entrances

	Materials: wood, vinyl, aluminum
Windows	Windows range in style and may include, but are not limited to, fixed storefront, sash, or sliding Materials: wood, aluminum, vinyl
Secondary Resources	Some motel resources may have secondary resources or are part of larger motel complexes; these are not required for listing. Examples include, but are not limited to: sheds, offices, community buildings

G. Geographic Data

This MPD covers a large geographic area encompassing the entirety of the Commonwealth of Virginia. Reconnaissance-level survey was undertaken for resources across the Commonwealth in the following 26 localities: Alexandria, Charlottesville, Covington, Danville, Disputanta, Farmville, Fredericksburg, Gloucester, Jamaica, Lawrenceville, Lexington, Lynchburg, Newport News, Norfolk, Petersburg, Portsmouth, Richmond, Roanoke, South Hill, Staunton, Suffolk, Tappahannock, Warrenton, Williamsburg, and Winchester. This project focused on identifying approximately 60 extant resources with an emphasis on historic resources that had not been subject to historic resource documentation within the last five years, if possible. As the project proponent, the Virginia Department of Historic Resources identified 55 resources for survey, and the preparers were asked to identify an additional five extant resources for inclusion. Available volumes of *The Negro Traveler's Green Book* and *The Architecture of the Negro Travelers' Green Book* website were used to identify survey sites. Due to unspecified addresses in *The Green Book* listings and the renumbering of streets over time, the locations of some sites were unable to be confirmed as part of this project, so it is possible that there may be additional extant Green Book sites that are potentially eligible resources within Virginia.

Through a combination of research and fieldwork, a range of property types were identified and surveyed across Virginia for their association with *The Green Book*. A total of 60 properties were investigated; 59 were found to be extant and one was completely demolished. Following the survey, online research was completed on each of the extant surveyed sites. Based on the additional research, two were unable to be confirmed or denied as *The Green Book* sites without completing additional research, and three were found to have no known association with *The Green Book.* Originally included in the survey list based on secondary sources, these three sites without a known association were determined to have been misidentified as *The Green Book* sites due to factors such as demolition and new construction and the readdressing of streets. Ultimately, 54 of the surveyed resources had a confirmed association with *The Green Book*. A total of 57 resources (54 confirmed, two unconfirmed, and one demolished) were recorded in the Virginia Cultural Resources Information System (VCRIS) (see section H); the three resources that were determined to have no known association with *The Green Book* were not recorded in VCRIS. An additional two resources were identified as extant *The Green Book* sites, but were not included in the survey, nor recorded in VCRIS, due to site inaccessibility or recent survey. As a result of this survey and

research initiative, a full list of sites within the survey area has been provided to the Virginia Department of Historic Resources, along with a set of recommendations for future study.
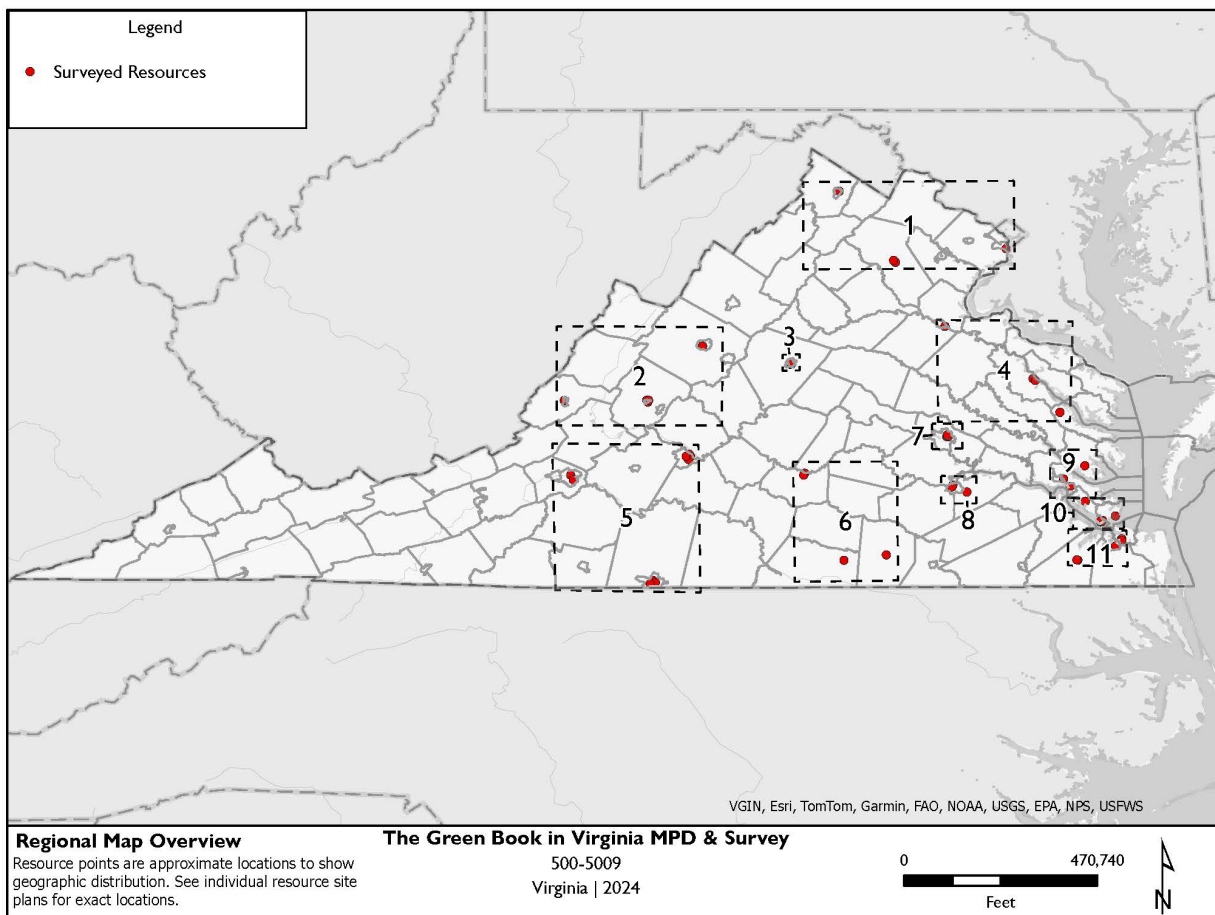

Figure 1 This overview map shows the approximate locations of resources surveyed as part of this project, and identifies the regions that are depicted in more detail on each of the following maps. Numbers on this map correspond to the Regional Map number.
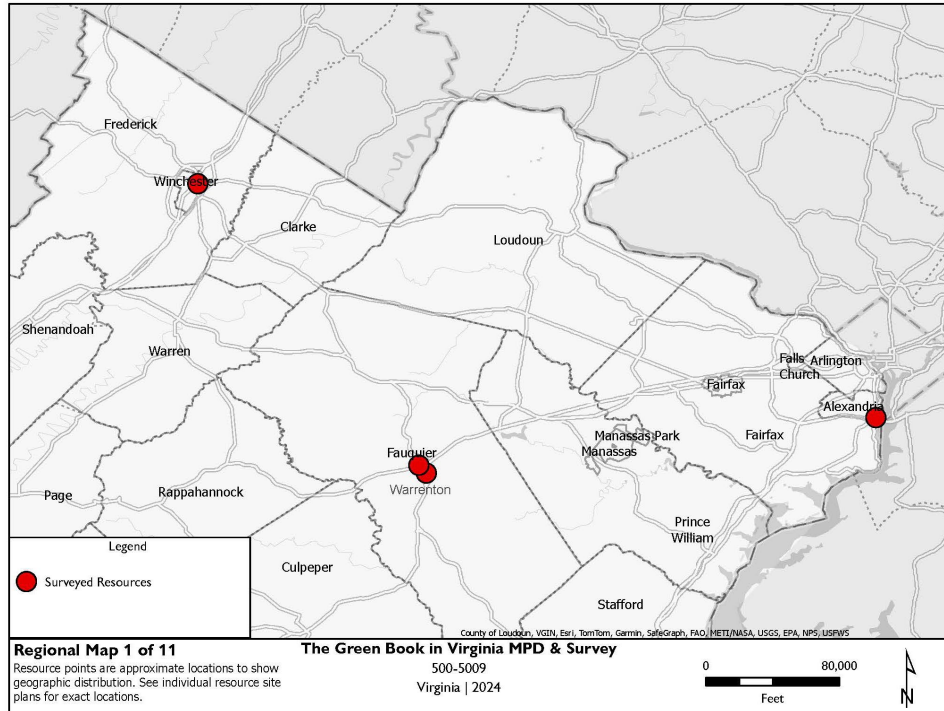
Figure 2 Regional Map 1 shows the approximate locations of resources surveyed in Winchester, Warrenton, and Alexandria.
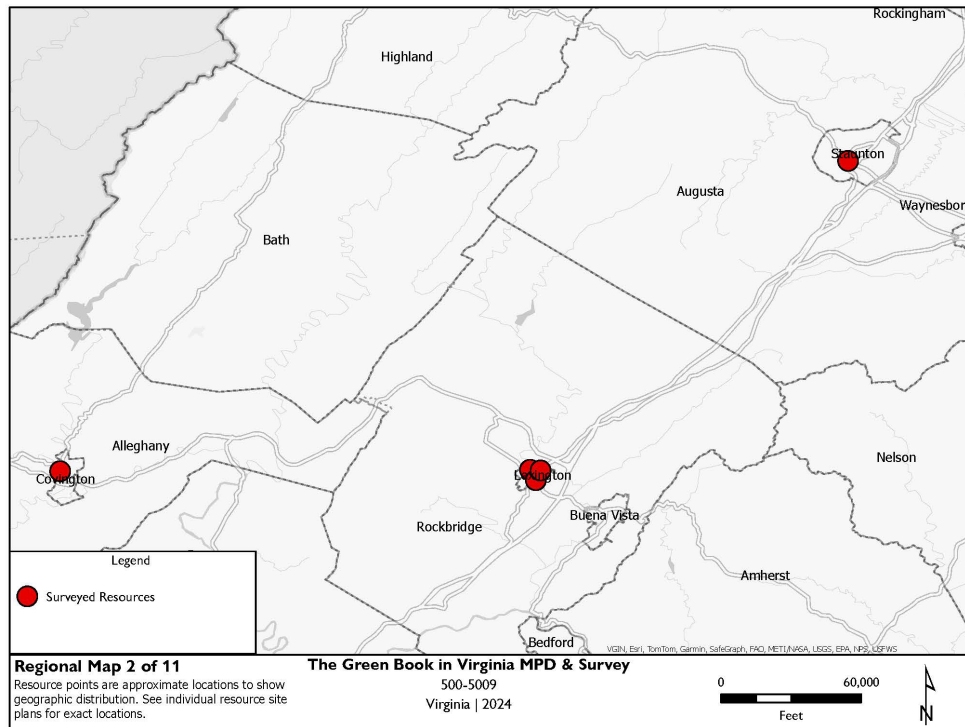

Figure 3 Regional Map 2 shows the approximate locations of resources surveyed in Covington, Lexington, and Staunton.
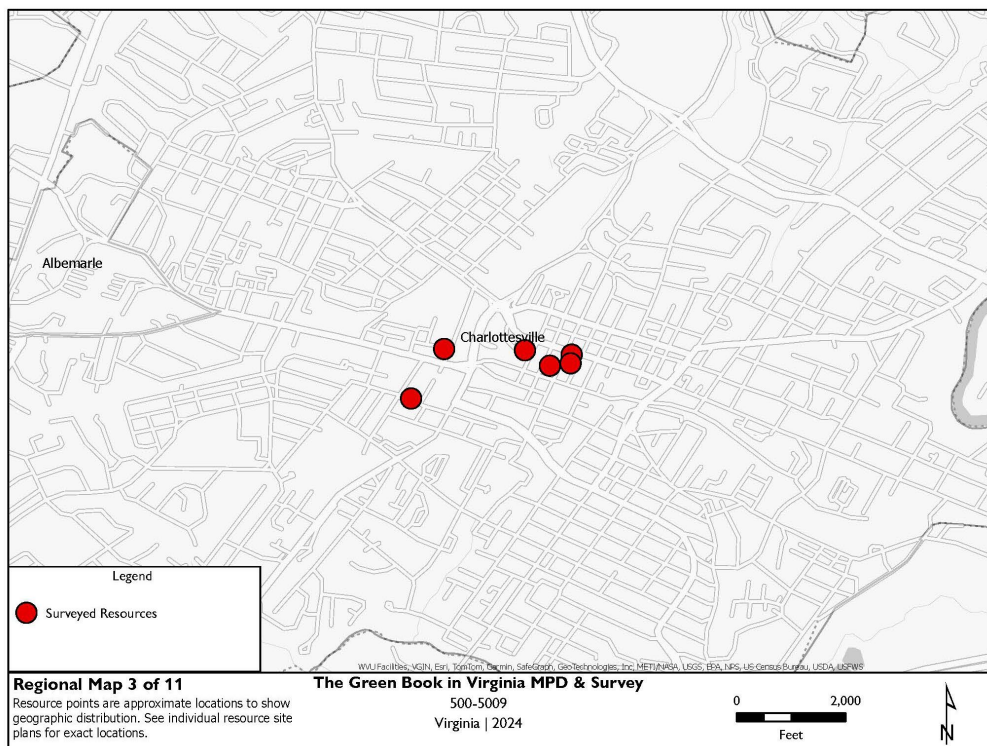
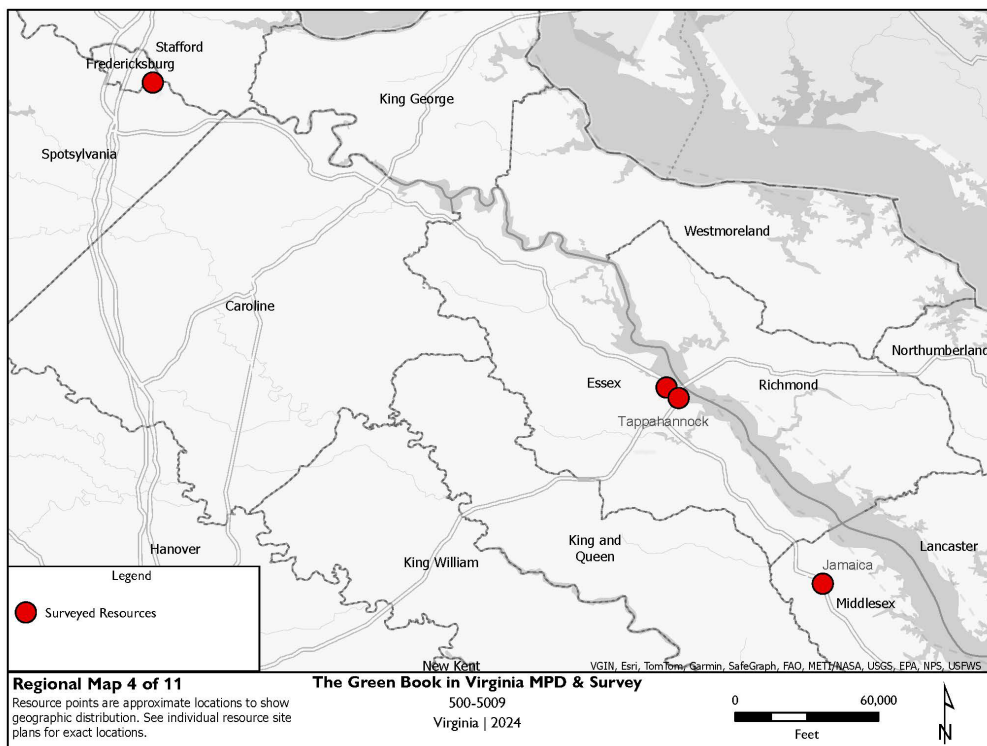*Figure 4 Regional Map 3 shows the approximate locations of resources surveyed in Charlottesville.*

Figure 5 Regional Map 4 shows the approximate locations of resources surveyed in Fredericksburg, Tappahannock, and Jamaica.
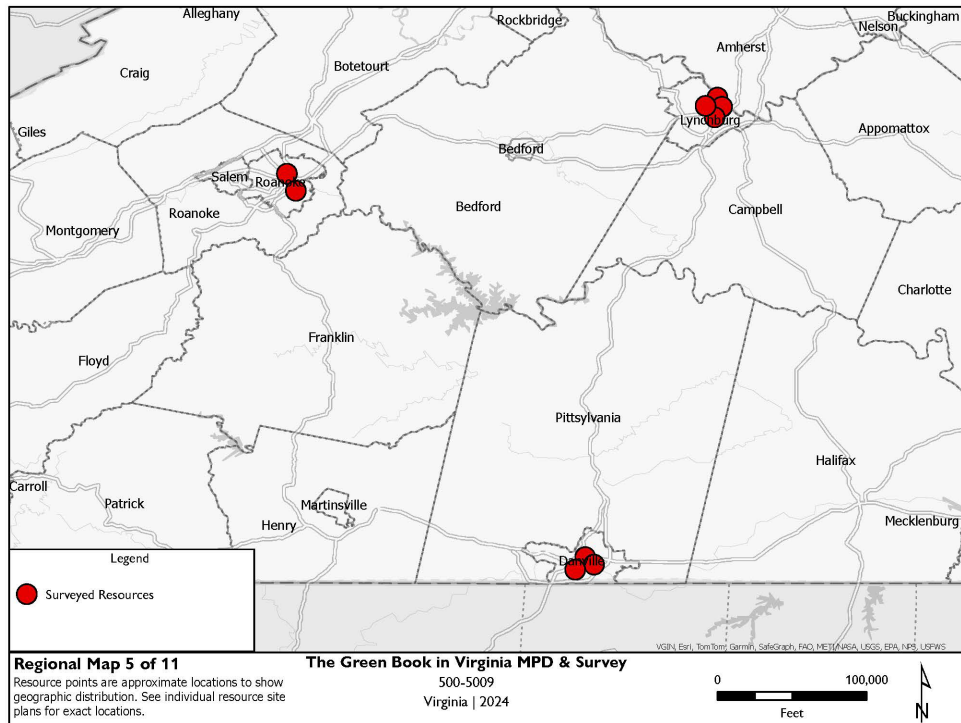
Legend

● Surveyed Resources

Regional Map 5 of 11
Resource points are approximate locations to show geographic distribution. See individual resource site plans for exact locations.

The Green Book in Virginia MPD & Survey
500-5009
Virginia | 2024

0   100,000
Feet

N

Figure 6 Regional Map 5 shows the approximate locations of resources surveyed in Roanoke, Lynchburg, and Danville.

Legend

● Surveyed Resources

Regional Map 6 of 11
Resource points are approximate locations to show geographic distribution. See individual resource site plans for exact locations.

The Green Book in Virginia MPD & Survey
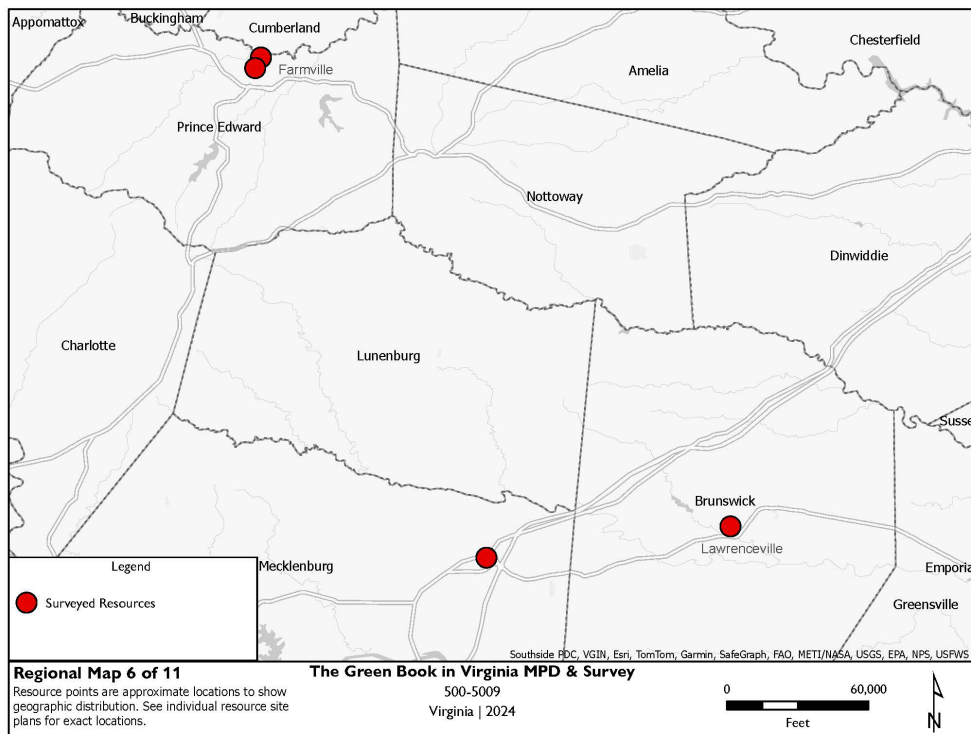500-5009
Virginia | 2024

0   60,000
Feet

N

Figure 7 Regional Map 6 shows the approximate locations of resources surveyed in Farmville, South Hill, and Lawrenceville.

Regional Map 7 of 11
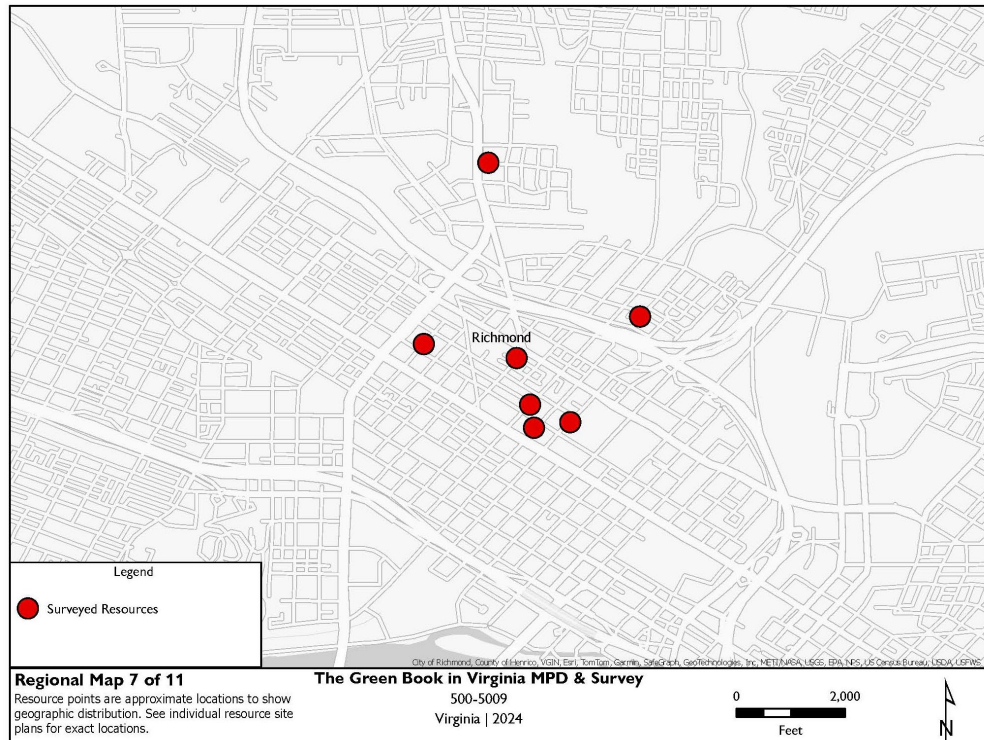Resource points are approximate locations to show geographic distribution. See individual resource site plans for exact locations.

The Green Book in Virginia MPD & Survey
500-5009
Virginia | 2024

Figure 8 Regional Map 7 shows the approximate locations of resources surveyed in Richmond.

Regional Map 8 of 11
Resource points are approximate locations to show geographic distribution. See individual resource site plans for exact locations.
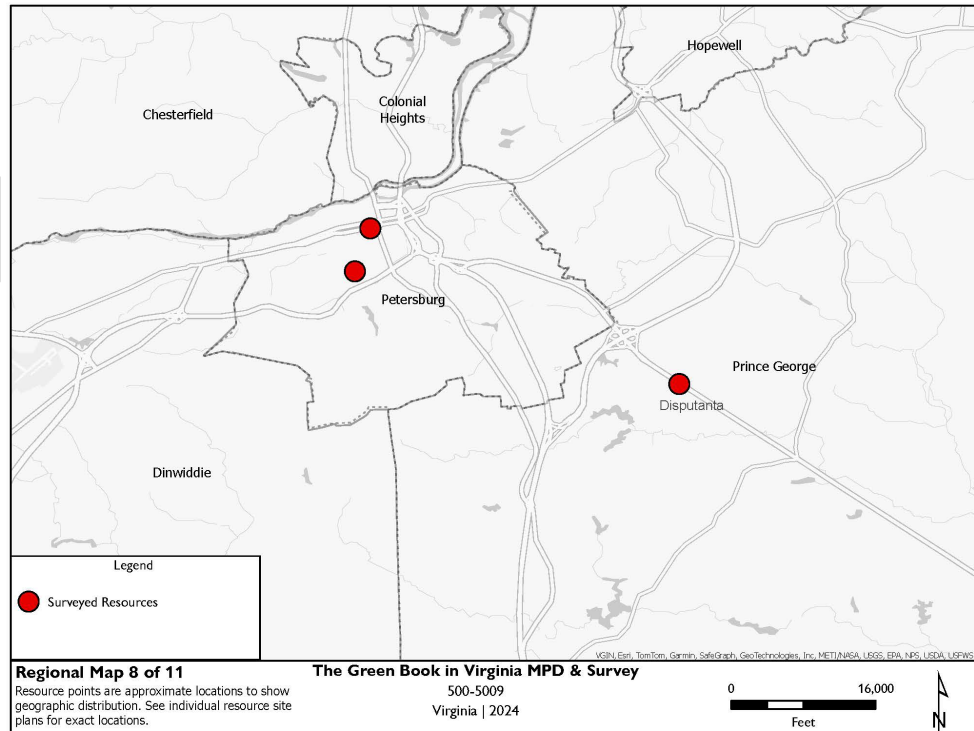
The Green Book in Virginia MPD & Survey
500-5009
Virginia | 2024

Figure 9 Regional Map 8 shows the approximate locations of resources surveyed in Petersburg and Disputanta.

Regional Map 9 of 11
Resource points are approximate locations to show geographic distribution. See individual resource site plans for exact locations.

The Green Book in Virginia MPD & Survey
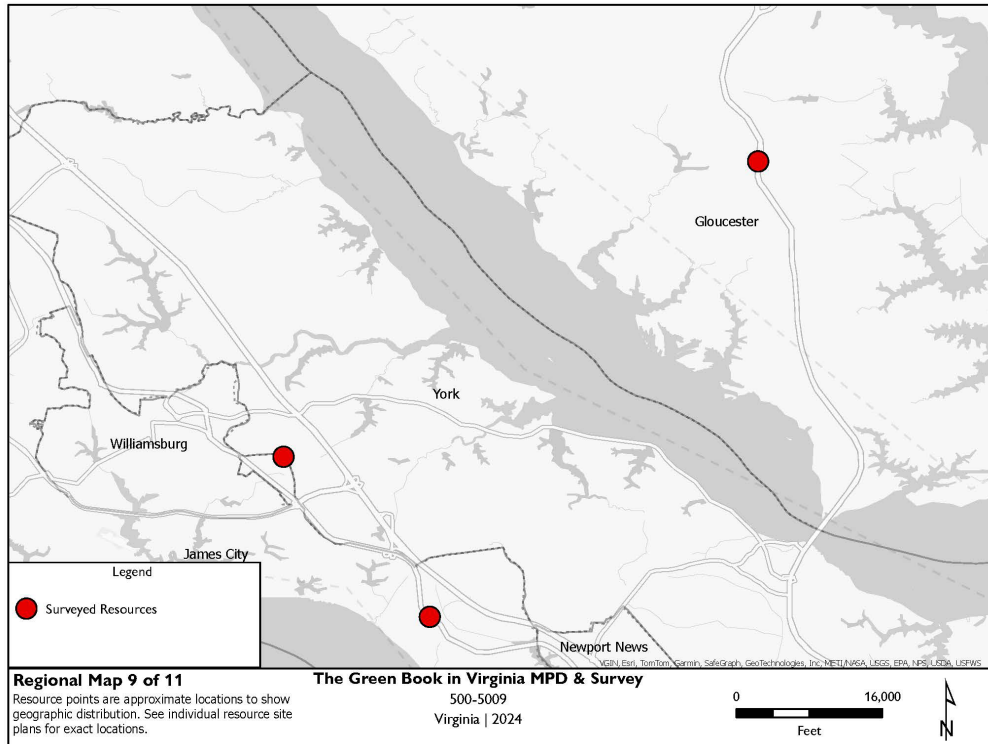500-5009
Virginia | 2024

Legend
● Surveyed Resources

0   16,000
Feet

Figure 10 Regional Map 9 shows the approximate locations of resources surveyed in Williamsburg and Gloucester.

Regional Map 10 of 11
Resource points are approximate locations to show geographic distribution. See individual resource site plans for exact locations.

The Green Book in Virginia MPD & Survey
500-5009
Virginia | 2024

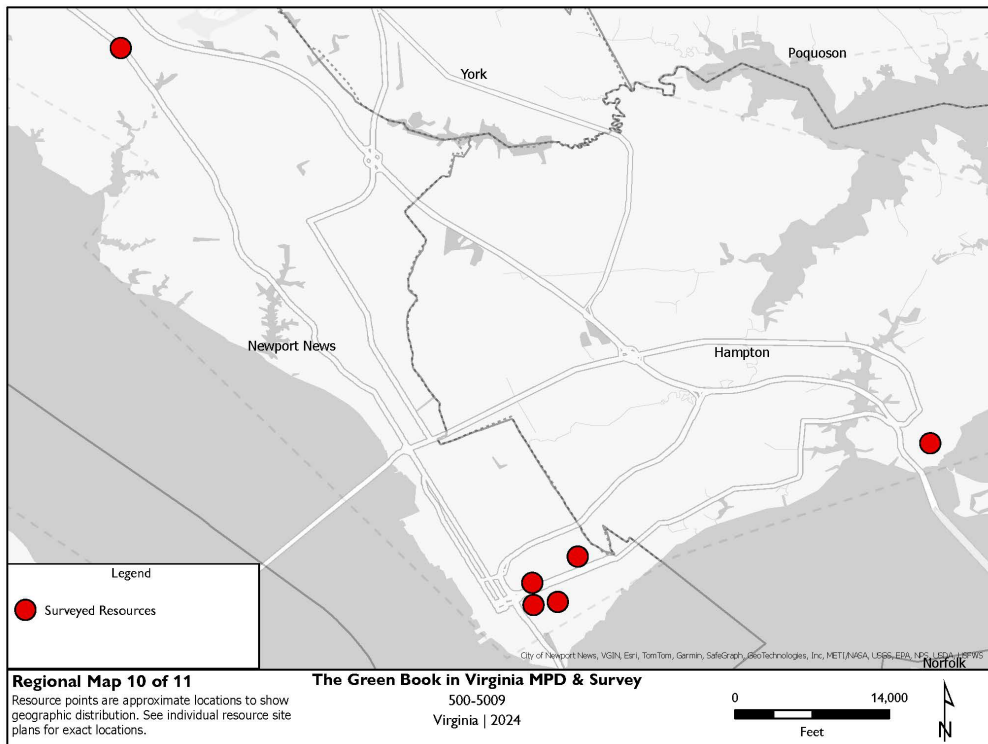Legend
● Surveyed Resources

0   14,000
Feet

Figure 11 Regional Map 10 shows the approximate locations of resources surveyed in Newport News and Hampton.
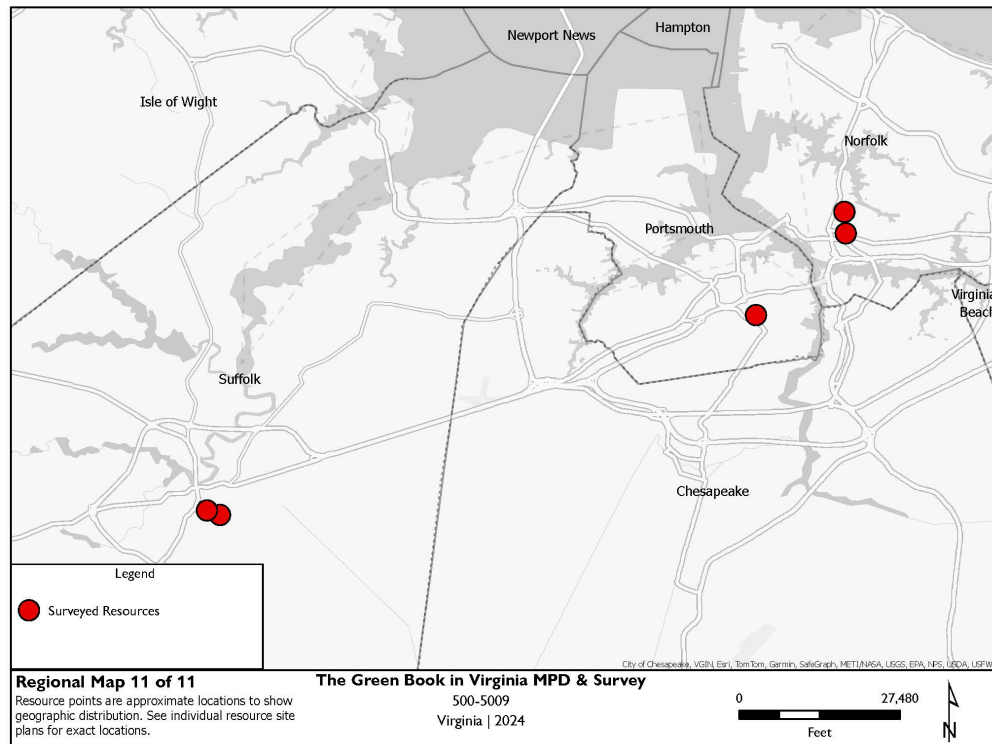
Figure 12 Regional Map 11 shows the approximate locations of resources surveyed in Suffolk, Portsmouth, and Norfolk.

H. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

This Multiple Property Document was developed as part of an initiative to document and preserve sites associated with *The Negro Traveler's Green Book* in Virginia. This document was prepared by Commonwealth Preservation Group for the Virginia Department of Historic Resources, and focuses on the role and implications of *The Negro Traveler's Green Book* in the lives of African American tourists and travelers during Jim Crow Era segregation in Virginia, including the historic context that necessitated its creation and publication.

Research & Evaluation Methods

Research for this MPD included a large geographic area. A variety of primary and secondary resources concerning the historic themes described herein were collected and used to prepare this context document, including digitized copies of The Green Book itself. The broad themes identified and discussed in the following historic context are based on the patterns of events described in the documentary Driving While Black: Race, Space, and Mobility in America, a 2020 documentary film directed by Ric Burns and Gretchen Sorin, and based on Sorin's 2020 book, Driving While Black: African American Travel and the Road to Civil Rights (New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, a division of W.W. Norton & Company, 2020). To create a historic context specific to Virginia, numerous secondary resources, National Register nominations for a variety of property types from different historic periods, and a small

number of digitized primary resources were utilized. The lengthy period during which the activities and movements of Black Virginians were controlled by White authorities from the colonial era through the end of Jim Crow segregation created the circumstances that gave rise to The Green Book and the areas and periods of significance of associated resources. Initial, online research was also completed on each of the individually surveyed properties to identify additional details about the subject person or place that may support a future nomination. Research included reviewing available online sources such as newspaper databases, maps, Ancestry.com, local museum websites, newspaper articles, obituaries, etc.

Individual sites were selected for survey based on their listing in *The Green Book*, whether or not they remained extant, and how recently they had been surveyed. To develop a list of possible survey sites, available *Green Books* and the existing website *[The Architecture of The Negro Travelers' Green Book](#)* were consulted.[1] Sites already identified on the website as demolished were considered accurate assessments, and resources identified as extant were selected for additional review. A list of 55 sites was provided to CPG by VDHR at the start of the project; this list was then reviewed to confirm if the resources appeared to still be extant based on available online aerial mapping and online local records. If resources were found to have been demolished, they were removed from the list. CPG then suggested replacement and additional sites for survey based on available digitized copies of The *Green Book* and *The Architecture of The Negro Travelers' Green Book* website to reach the desired count of 60 sites for survey. After surveying, any sites that were found through additional research to have been mis-identified as *The Green Book* sites (due to factors such as demolition and new construction, re-addressing since *The Green Book's* publication, etc.) were removed from the list that was entered into the Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS).

While the sites surveyed as part of this project share a significant association with The Green Book in Virginia, National Park Service guidance at the time of the preparation of this MPD articulates that individual listing in the NRHP typically requires property-specific historical research and justification of significance in connection to one or more of the areas of significance identified in this MPD. In order to determine whether a resource is potentially eligible for listing within the parameters of the current project, CPG conducted limited property-specific research using online repositories of information such as digitized Sanborn maps, historical newspaper databases, Ancestry.com, and results of online searches. Where CPG was able to find site-specific research material that supported the historical significance of the property and its association with the areas of significance identified in the MPD, and the site's integrity was in accord with the Registration Requirements herein, the property was recommended as potentially eligible for listing in the NRHP in VDHR's VCRIS. Another consideration for sites recommended potentially eligible was resource rarity. For example, the survey concluded that motels were noted as a rarely extant resource type among The Green Book-listed places, and therefore, are more frequently recommended eligible as a significant property type even with limited property-specific research material. In cases where CPG was unable to find additional sources of information on a given property, and it retained at least some of the integrity aspects as explained in the Registration Requirements, a recommendation for further study was made in VCRIS. In very few instances, CPG recommended that a resource is not eligible for listing either because the association with The Green Book could not be confirmed, or because the resource had substantial integrity loss or had been

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[1] The Architecture of The Negro Travelers' Green Book website was developed by the University of Virginia's Institute for Advanced Technology in the Humanities.

demolished. Additional research and future survey may reveal new information that warrants the re-evaluation of any of the resources that have been surveyed to-date. For example, future oral history interviews and community engagement are likely to yield additional information about resources listed in The Green Book.

As part of this project, the following sites in Virginia were identified as having, or possibly having, an association with *The Green Book*; two sites in this list were extant but *The Green Book* association was unable to be confirmed or denied. Additional sites with an association to *The Green Book* were identified but were not surveyed as part of this project due to inaccessibility or survey within the past five years; a full list of sites has been provided to the Virginia Department of Historic Resources.

Table #: Identified Sites Associated with The Green Book in Virginia

DHR ID #	Resource Name	Address	City/Town	Status
100-5630	J.T. Holmes Tourist Home	803 Gibbon Street	Alexandria	Extant
104-0213-0196	Alexander's Tourist Home	413 Dice Street	Charlottesville	Extant
104-0072-0153	Apex Beauty Parlor	211 W Main Street	Charlottesville	Extant
104-0072-0089	Jefferson Theatre	110 E Main Street	Charlottesville	Extant
104-0072-0159	Odd Fellows Dance Hall	204-206 E Market Street	Charlottesville	Extant
104-0072-0103	Paramount Theatre	215 East Main	Charlottesville	Extant
104-5152	Joker's Barber Shop	406-406 Commerce Street	Charlottesville	Extant
107-5303	Silver Star Restaurant	208 S Maple Avenue	Covington	Extant
108-0180-0034	Mrs. M. K. Page Tourist Home	434 Holbrook Street	Danville	Extant
108-0180-0046	Mrs. Yancey Tourist Home	320 Holbrook Street	Danville	Extant
108-0180-0108	Blue Room Restaurant	358 Holbrook Street	Danville	Extant
074-5050	Forest View Hotel	5115 County Drive	Disputanta	Extant
144-0051	Mrs. Kate Wiley Tourist Home	626 South Main Street	Farmville	Extant
144-0027-0214	Reid's Restaurant / Reid's Cafe	236 North Main Street	Farmville	Extant
111-5497	Taylor's Restaurant	220 Frazier Street	Fredericksburg	Extant
036-5173	W.J. Stoke Restaurant/Complex	5456 Hwy 17	Gloucester	Extant
036-5174	Watkins Motel	7402 John Lemon Lane	Gloucester	Demolished

059-5425	Oliver's Restaurant and Texaco Station	4235 Tidewater Trail	Jamaica	Extant
251-5001-0129	Corner Inn	409-413 N Main Street	Lawrenceville	Extant
117-0027-0337	The Franklin Tourist Home	Tucker Street	Lexington	Extant
117-0027-0017	Washington Cafe	N Main St	Lexington	Extant
117-5066	J. M. Wood Tourist Home	206 Massie Street	Lexington	Extant
118-5735	The Mecca Restaurant	1816 Bedford Avenue	Lynchburg	Extant
118-0226-0268	Mrs. N.P. Washington Tourist Home	611 Polk Street	Lynchburg	Extant
118-5318-0039	Fifth Street Pharmacy/Hotel Douglas/ Humbles Building	901 Fifth Street	Lynchburg	Extant
118-5318-0061	Phyllis Wheatley Y.W.C.A. (YWCA)	613 Monroe Street	Lynchburg	Extant
121-5666	Rattrie's Beauty Parlor	3000 Chestnut Avenue	Newport News	Extant
121-5667	Al Smith's Service Station	2701 Marshall Avenue	Newport News	Extant
121-5668	Mrs. C. Stephen's Tourist Home	1909 Marshall Avenue	Newport News	Extant
121-5669	Grant's Restaurant	2108 Jefferson Avenue	Newport News	Extant
121-5670	Plaza Drive Inn	13537 Warwick Boulevard	Newport News	Extant
122-0074	Booker T. Theatre/ Attuck's Theater	1010 Church Street	Norfolk	Extant
122-5795-0033	Alston's Esso Service Station	1855 Church Street	Norfolk	Extant
123-5581	Mrs. Lawrence Jones Tourist Home	1009 Melville Street	Petersburg	Extant
123-5494-0012	Atlantic Café	101-107 Halifax Street	Petersburg	Extant
114-5927	Ye Shingle Inn	17 E County Street	Phoebus	Extant
124- 5285	Marshall's Cities Service Station	1808 Portsmouth Blvd	Portsmouth	Extant
127-0237-0777	Adams St. Service Station	523 N. Adams Street	Richmond	Extant
127-0237-0049	Harris Service Station	404-406 N Henry St	Richmond	Extant
127-0237-0678	Williams Professional Pharmacy / Williams Prof. Druggist	414 N 3rd St	Richmond	Extant

| 127-0237-0877	Chalmer's Beauty Parlor	416 N. 1st Street	Richmond	Extant
127-8166	H. Vaughan Service Station	1701 Chamberlayne Ave.	Richmond	Extant
127-6665	Preston St. Service Station	915 & 923 N 2nd St	Richmond	Extant
127-0375-9004	Otto's Inn	314 N. 2nd Street	Richmond	Extant
128-5764-0001	Hotel Dumas	108 Henry Street NW	Roanoke	Extant
128-5764-0004	Morocco Night Club	120 Henry Street NW	Roanoke	Extant
301-5064	Brown's Hotel	104 East Virginia St	South Hill	Extant
132-0024-0054	Johnson's Restaurant	21 E Frederick Street	Staunton	Extant
133-5681	E & L Lassiter Pure Oil Service Station	802 East Washington Street	Suffolk	Extant
133-0072-0341	Suffolk Professional Pharmacy, Inc. / H.M. Diggs Building	362 East Washington Street	Suffolk	Extant
310-5015	Harris' Grill	412 Queen Street	Tappahannock	Extant
310-5016	McGuire's Inn	445 Marsh Street	Tappahannock	Extant
156-0019-0280	Walker's Barber Shop (Odd Fellow's Building)	23 S 3rd Street	Warrenton	Extant
156-0019-0038	McLain Tailors	51-53 Culpeper Street	Warrenton	Extant
047-5053	Groves Esso Service Center	8751 Pocahontas Trail	Williamsburg	Extant
099-5608	Booker T Motor Court	1018 Penniman Road	Williamsburg	Extant
138-0042-0964	Evans Hotel	224 Sharp Street	Winchester	Extant
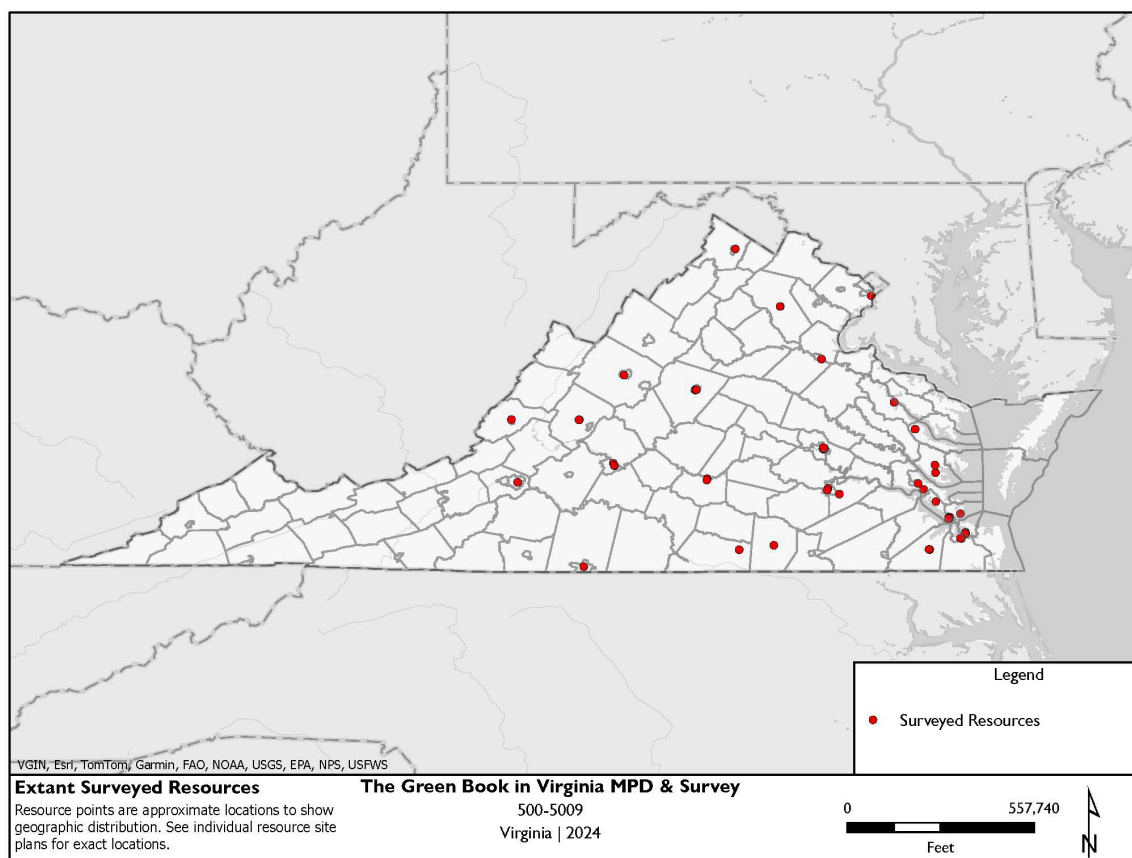
Figure 13 Map showing the approximate locations of the extant Virginia Green Book sites surveyed as part of this project.

Project Parameters and Limitations

The Multiple Property Documentation Form (MPD) and its associated survey work focused on sites within the Commonwealth of Virginia that were listed in *The Green Book*. The primary objective of this MPD is to provide a historic context for evaluating sites associated with *The Green Book* in Virginia, and was accompanied by a reconnaissance survey of extant *Green Book* resources in Virginia. Available volumes of The *Green Book* and website entitled *The Architecture of the Negro Travelers' Green Book* were used to identify properties, but the number of surveyed resources for this project was limited to 60 resources, focusing on resources that could be reasonably located and identified as extant prior to survey, and prioritizing resources that had not been documented within the last five years. Additional sites that were inaccessible at the time of survey, were unable to be located, and/or had been recently documented may also be eligible for listing under this MPD.

This project was successful in identifying 60 resources within Virginia that were listed in *The Green Book*; however, a few limitations impacted the identification and assessment of resources. First, due to the project's timeline and budget, the project did not include a community engagement component, with the

intent that there would be future work to engage the public as the project continues. The project's timeline and budget also impacted the depth of property-specific research that could reasonably be completed for each of the surveyed resources. Additionally, for at least one identified resource, seasonal closures limited access to the property and prohibited survey. Finally, *The Green Books* themselves did not always include specific addresses, making it difficult to confirm the locations of some sites. It is possible that more resources associated with *The Green Book* may be extant; however, additional mapping analysis and community engagement are necessary to identify these additional sites.

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Historic Context Endnotes

[1] The complex history of the indigenous peoples of Virginia from the 17th century to the present has been the subject of considerable study, but is beyond the current purview of this Multiple Property Documentation Form. To begin further reading, see Martin D. Gallivan, *The Powhatan Landscape: An Archaeological History of the Algonquian Landscape* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2016); Laura J. Feller, *Being Indigenous in Jim Crow Virginia: Powhatan People and the Color Line* (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 2022; (https://doi.org/10.38118/978080619607); Ashley Layne Atkins Spivey, *Knowing the River, Working the Land, and Digging for Clay: Pamunkey Indian Subsistence Practices and the Market Economy 1800-1900,* PhD Dissertation (College of William & Mary, Dissertations, Theses, and Masters Projects, 2017; Buck Woodard, Daniell Moretti-Langholtz, Megan Victor, and Berek Dore, "The Nottoway of Virginia, c. 1650-c. 1953, Multiple Property Documentation Form, https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/ historic-registers/087-5675/, Catherine C. Dye, William J. Graham, Scott M. Strickland, and Julia A. King, "Chief Otho S. and Susie P. Nelson House," National Register Nomination Form, https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/ historic-registers/049-5132/; Julie H. Ernstein, Buck H. Woodard; Danielle Moretti-Langholtz, and Angela L. Daniel, "Sharon Indian School," National Register Nomination Form, https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/historic-registers/050-5005/; "Bear Mountain Indian Mission School," National Register Nomination Form, https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/historic-registers/005-0230/; and multiple entries in *Encyclopedia Virginia*, Virginia Humanities, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/, such as "Tsenacomoco (Powhatan Paramount Chiefdom)," "Powhatan," First Angelo-Powhatan War (1609-1614)," "Chickahominy Tribe," "Eastern Chickahominy Tribe," "Mattaponi Tribe," "Monacan Indian Nation," "Nansemond Indian Nation," "Nottoway Indian Tribe of Virginia," Pamunkey Tribe," "Patawomeck Tribe," "Rappahannock Tribe," and "Upper Mattaponi Tribe."

[2] The *Green Book* had variations on its title during its publication run, including *The Negro Travelers' Green Book* and *The Travelers' Green Book.*

[3] Descendants of Africans in the Central and South American colonies and the Caribbean region also were absorbed into the race-based system of slavery, with several ports in Virginia acting as places of entry for enslaved people.

[4] https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/tsenacomoco-powhatan-paramount-chiefdom/

[5] https://encyclopediavirginia.org/primary-documents/treaty-ending-the-third-anglo-powhatan-war-1646/

[6] https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/governors-council-the/;
https://encyclopediavirginia.org/primary-documents/general-court-responds-to-runaway-servants-and-slaves-1640/; Martha W. McCartney, *Mathews County, Virginia: Lost Landscapes, Untold Stories* (Mathews County Historical Society, 2015), p. 31-32; Gwynn's Island Historic District, National Register nomination, https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2023/07/057-5467_Gwynns_Island_HD_2023_NRHP_DraftFINAL.pdf.

[7] https://encyclopediavirginia.org/primary-documents/general-court-responds-to-runaway-servants-and-slaves-1640/

[8] https://encyclopediavirginia.org/primary-documents/general-court-responds-to-runaway-servants-and-slaves-1640/

[9] The term freedom seeker is used herein rather than the historic term "runaway." According to the National Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Program, freedom seeker "describes an enslaved person who takes action to obtain freedom from slavery. The labels fugitive, runaway, and escapee were constructs of slave-holding society and patronizing abolitionists. These terms reflect how slave-holding society viewed African American efforts toward freedom and ultimately and take away their individual agency. The term fugitive is linked to the various Fugitive Slave Laws (1793, 1850) passed by the U.S. Congress, and emphasizes that the fugitive was acting criminally to escape from bondage. This language was key in attempts to preserve the view that the law was on the side of the slaveholding society—which it was—while reinforcing the view that the fugitive was incapable of acting responsibly in a society governed by the rule of law." See https://www.nps.gov/subjects/undergroundrailroad/language-of-slavery.htm.

[10] Antonio Bly, "Indentured Servant and Slave Patrols in Virginia," Encyclopedia Virginia, Virginia Humanities, July 13, 2023, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/servant-and-slave-patrols-in-virginia/.

[11] Examples of the Virginia General Assembly's legislative acts are at https://encyclopediavirginia.org/primary-documents/runaway-servants-1643/, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/primary-documents/english-running-away-with-negroes-1661/, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/primary-documents/an-act-prohibiting-servants-to-goe-abroad-without-a-lycence-1663/, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/primary-documents/against-runawayes-1669/, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/primary-documents/an-act-concerning-runaways-1669-1670/, and https://encyclopediavirginia.org/primary-documents/john-nickson-runs-away-1687/.

[12] Antonio Bly, "Indentured Servant and Slave Patrols in Virginia," Encyclopedia Virginia, Virginia Humanities, July 13, 2023, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/servant-and-slave-patrols-in-virginia/.

[13] https://encyclopediavirginia.org/primary-documents/an-act-for-the-apprehension-and-suppression-of-runawayes-negroes-and-slaves-1672. Note that spelling of the quoted language has been modernized for the sake of clarity.

[14] https://encyclopediavirginia.org/primary-documents/an-act-for-the-apprehension-and-suppression-of-runawayes-negroes-and-slaves-1672/. Although the legislation refers to "Indian

slaves," for the most part English colonists' efforts to enslave the Native peoples along the North American coast failed. Missionaries focused on converting the indigenous peoples to Christianity and convincing them to adopt European mores and ways of life. Clashes between colonists and tribal groups native to present-day Virginia continued through the early nineteenth century. Surviving tribes eventually opted to negotiate the permanent presence of European colonists by adopting Christianity and major aspects of European lifestyles, but also retained their tribal identities. During the twentieth century, resurgence of tribal identity became possible as the Long Civil Rights Movement achieved gains for marginalized people and communities of all types.

[15] Antonio Bly, "Indentured Servant and Slave Patrols in Virginia," Encyclopedia Virginia, Virginia Humanities, July 13, 2023, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/servant-and-slave-patrols-in-virginia/.

[16] Brendan Wolfe, "Indentured Servants in Colonial Virginia," Encyclopedia Virginia, Virginia Humanities, July 13, 2023. https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/indentured-servants-in-colonial-virginia.

[17] Brendan Wolfe, "Indentured Servants in Colonial Virginia," Encyclopedia Virginia, Virginia Humanities, July 13, 2023. https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/indentured-servants-in-colonial-virginia.

[18] https://encyclopediavirginia.org/primary-documents/an-act-to-amend-the-several-laws-concerning-slaves-1806/; https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/gabriels-conspiracy-1800/

[19] https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/turners-revolt-nat-1831/; James M. Campbell, Slavery on Trial: Race, Class, and Criminal Justice in Antebellum Richmond, Virginia, (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2007), 149-151, as quoted at https://virginiamemory.com/collections/aan/aan_record_types.pdf?v=2.0#:~:text=In%201806%2C%20the%20General%20Assembly,be%20re%2Denslaved%20and%20sold.

[20] For example, see J. Brent Morris, *Dismal Freedom: A History of the Maroons of the Great Dismal Swamp* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2022); Daniel O. Sayers, *A Desolate Place for a Defiant People: The Archaeology of Maroons, Indigenous Americans, and Enslaved Laborers in the Great Dismal Swamp* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida: 2016), and Marcus P. Nevius, *City of Refuge: Slavery and Petit Marronage in the Great Dismal Swamp, 1763-1856 (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2020).* Maroon communities have been identified in North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama, Florida, and Louisiana. Petit marronage also occurred in Central and South America, the Caribbean region, parts of Africa, and elsewhere that slavery existed during the imperial era when European colonial powers sought to enslave millions of people of African lineage.

[21] Marcus P. Nevius, "Petit Marronage in the Great Dismal Swamp," *Encyclopedia Virginia*, Virginia Humanities, April 19, 2022, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/petit-marronage-in-the-great-dismal-swamp.

[22] Cassandra Newby-Alexander, "Underground Railroad in Virginia," *Encyclopedia Virginia,* Virginia Humanities, December 7, 2020, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/underground-railroad-in-virginia/.

[23] "African American Spirituals," Library of Congress, Performing Arts Encyclopedia, https://www.loc.gov/item/ihas.200197495/.

[24] Jared Green, "The Landscapes of Harriet Tubman," October 18, 2022, *The Dirt* (American Society of Landscape Architects newsletter), https://dirt.asla.org/2022/10/18/the-cultural-landscapes-of-harriet-tubman/.

[25] Ashley Neville and John Salmon, Pocahontas Island Historic District, National Register nomination, 2006, www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/123-0114_Pocahontas_Island_HD_2006_NRHP_nomination_final.pdf, and Dr. Ashley Atkins Spivey, Pocahontas Island Historic District 2023 Update," National Register nomination, 2023, www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/123-0114_Pocahontas_Island_HD_2023_Update_NRHP_nomination_FINAL.pdf.

[26] "What is the Underground Railroad?" July 22, 2022, National Park Service, Underground Railroad, https://www.nps.gov/subjects/undergroundrailroad/what-is-the-underground-railroad.htm.

[27] Cassandra Newby-Alexander, "Underground Railroad in Virginia," *Encyclopedia Virginia,* Virginia Humanities, December 7, 2020, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/underground-railroad-in-virginia/.

[28] Christine Blackerby, "Kidnapping of Free People of Color," November 12, 2013, National Archives Education Updates, https://education.blogs.archives.gov/2013/11/12/kidnapping-of-free-people-of-color/.

[29] Cassandra Newby-Alexander, "Underground Railroad in Virginia," *Encyclopedia Virginia,* Virginia Humanities, December 7, 2020, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/underground-railroad-in-virginia/.

[30] The British military had made similar promises of freedom for Black volunteers during the Revolutionary War; an important distinction, however, was that during the 1774-1783 war, the British empire still engaged in the international slave trade and permitted slavery throughout its holdings.

[31] The complex history of African American freedom seekers in Canada and Trinidad is discussed in more detail at Dorothy W. Williams and James W. StG. Walker, "Black History in Canada until 1900," *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, March 15, 2021, https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/black-history-until-1900; "African Nova Scotians in the Age of Slavery and Abolition," Nova Scotia Archives, no date, https://archives.novascotia.ca/africanns/results/?Search=&SearchList1=4; and "A Guide to the Merikin Collection," National Archives of Trinidad and Tobago, no date, www.natt.gov.tt/sites/default/files/images/NATT%20Merikin%20Collection%20GuideREV2021.pdf.

[32] Sten Wall and Lena Sweeten McDonald, Tangier Island Historic District 2015 Boundary Increase, National Register nomination, May 1, 2015, https://wordpress-851339-3533967.cloudwaysapps.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/309-0001_Tangier_Island_HD_2015_BI_NRHP_FINAL.pdf, p. 13, 16-17.

[33] Cassandra Newby-Alexander, "Underground Railroad in Virginia," *Encyclopedia Virginia,* Virginia Humanities, December 7, 2020, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/underground-railroad-in-virginia/.

[34] Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation1861-1867, Series 1, Volume 1: The Destruction of Slavery (New York, New York: Cambridge University Press (syndicate), 1985), p. 15. The complexities of Fort Monroe's Civil War history are discussed in Rebecca Calonico, Fort Monroe (2013 Update and Boundary Increase), National Register nomination, March 15, 2012, https://wordpress-851339-3533967.cloudwaysapps.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/114-0002_FortMonroe_2015_NRHP_final_redacted.pdf, p. 83, 85-91, 98. In addition to its National Register listing, Fort Monroe is a National Historic Landmark (NHL). As of 2024, the National Park Service has embarked on a project to update Fort Monroe's NHL nomination, which is likely to include further information about the property's historical significance during the Civil War.

[35] Andre Fleche, United States Colored Troops, The," *Encyclopedia Virginia,* Virginia Humanities, December 7, 2020, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/united-states-colored-troops-the/.

[36] Rebecca Calonico, Fort Monroe (2013 Update and Boundary Increase), National Register nomination, March 15, 2012, https://wordpress-851339-3533967.cloudwaysapps.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/114-0002_FortMonroe_2015_NRHP_final_redacted.pdf, p. 90-91, 98. Despite Butler's assertion that enslavers who left their homes had forfeited both their real and personal property (enslaved people were categorized as personal property), during the Reconstruction Era, most often former enslavers regained ownership of their real property, although they first had to swear an oath of allegiance to the U.S. in order to do so.

[37] Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation1861-1867, Series 1, Volume 1: The Destruction of Slavery (New York, New York: Cambridge University Press (syndicate), 1985), p. 12, as referenced in Rebecca Calonico, Fort Monroe (2013 Update and Boundary Increase), National Register nomination, March 15, 2012, https://wordpress-851339-3533967.cloudwaysapps.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/114-0002_FortMonroe_2015_NRHP_final_redacted.pdf, p. 90-91, 98; "Freedom's Fortress," National Park Service, February 17, 2016, https://www.nps.gov/articles/featured_stories_fomr.htm.

[38] Andre Fleche, "United States Colored Troops, The," *Encyclopedia Virginia,* Virginia Humanities, December 7, 2020, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/united-states-colored-troops-the/. For a comprehensive history of the contributions, valor, and sacrifices of the USCT during the Civil War, see Noah Andre Trudeau, *Like Men of War: Black Troops in the Civil War, 1862-1865* (Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1998).

[39] Andre Fleche, United States Colored Troops, The," *Encyclopedia Virginia,* Virginia Humanities, December 7, 2020, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/united-states-colored-troops-the/; Rebecca Calonico, Fort Monroe (2013 Update and Boundary Increase), National Register nomination, March 15, 2012, https://wordpress-851339-3533967.cloudwaysapps.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/114-0002_FortMonroe_2015_NRHP_ final_redacted.pdf, p. 86.

[40] J.G.C. Lee, Assistant Quartermaster, to Major General M.C. Meigs, Depot Quartermaster's Office, Alexandria, VA, 28 December 1864; Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General; General Correspondence and Reports Relating to National and Post Cemeteries; Record Group 92, Entry 576; National Archives Building, Washington, D.C., as referenced in Pamela Cressey et al., Contrabands and Freedmen Cemetery, National Register nomination, March 1, 2012, p. 16-18.

[41] Christine Rae Henry and Andrea Livi Smith, "Segregation, Gentrification, and Heritage in Fredericksburg, Virginia," Chapter in *Urban Heritage in Divided Cities* (London: Routledge, 2019), p. 150; Danae Peckler, Fredericksburg and Confederate Cemeteries, National Register nomination, May 2018, www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/111-5265_Fredericksburg_and_Confederate_Cemeteries_2018_NRHP_FINAL.pdf, p. 12.

[42] Perhaps the richest irony was that the Contrabands and Freedmen's Cemetery, where 1,711 African Americans were interred, eventually was redeveloped. The cemetery was closed to burials in 1869. After federal management of the site ended in 1877, the property returned to private ownership, after which it was allowed to deteriorate for decades. The Archdiocese in Richmond acquired ownership of the site in 1917. In 1931, the adjacent South Washington Street was widened and extended as part of the Mount Vernon Memorial Highway project. In 1955, the Archdiocese sold the property to an oil company, which built a gas station on the site. In 1959, the City granted a permit for construction of a new store and apartment building on the site, just twenty years after it last was marked as a cemetery on maps. Construction of Woodrow Wilson Bridge and the Capital Beltway also impinged on the site. "Rediscovery" of the cemetery began in 1987 when a historian at the Office of Historic Alexandria found a period article about the cemetery's creation during the Civil War. The City included the site in the historic preservation chapter of its master plan starting in 1991. Over the next twenty years, the site was thoroughly researched and remediation efforts to preserve the remaining burials were undertaken. In 2012, the cemetery was listed in the National Register and Virginia Landmarks Register for its national significance in Black history, among other reasons. Today, the site is known as the Contrabands and Freedmen Cemetery Memorial. For more information, see Pamela Cressey et al., Contrabands and Freedmen Cemetery, National Register nomination, March 1, 2012, and "Contrabands and Freedmen Cemetery Memorial, City of Alexandria, https://www.alexandriava.gov/FreedmenMemorial.

[43] "The Freedmen's Bureau," National Archives, Research Our Records, African American Heritage, no date, https://www.archives.gov/research/african-americans/freedmens-bureau?_ga=2.131340751.1335478042.1711646823-291601855.1705958387, and "The Freedmen's Bureau," National Archives, Educator Resources, no date, https://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/freedmen#:~:text=Funding%20limitations%20and%20deeply%20held,persistent%20racial%20attitudes%20and%20discrimination.; "The

Freedmen's Bureau: New Beginnings for Recently Freed African Americans," National Museum of African American History and Culture, no date, https://nmaahc.si.edu/explore/stories/freedmens-bureau-new-beginnings-recently-freed.

[44] "The Freedmen's Bureau: New Beginnings for Recently Freed African Americans," National Museum of African American History and Culture, no date, https://nmaahc.si.edu/explore/stories/freedmens-bureau-new-beginnings-recently-freed.

[45] Sherman's order came to be known as "40 acres and a mule" for each freed person, and became shorthand for the federal government's failure to uphold wartime policy planning to aid freed people with establishing independence and autonomy from their former enslavers. The idea for redistribution of land was not Sherman's. During a January 12, 1865, meeting among Black religious leaders, Secretary of War Edwin Stanton, and Sherman, the Black leaders stated, "The way we can best take care of ourselves is to have land, and turn it and till it by our own labor–that is, by the labor of the women and children and old men; and we can soon maintain ourselves and have something to spare…We want to be placed on land until we are able to buy it and make it our own." See "Newspaper Account of a Meeting between Black Religious Leaders and Union Military Authorities," Freedmen and Southern Society Project, https://freedmen.umd.edu//savmtg.htm.

[46] Iburia Hall-Haynes and Edwin Haynes, Oakland Baptist Church Cemetery, National Register nomination, August 2, 2017, www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/100-5339_Oakland_Baptist_Church_Cemetery_2017_NRHP_FINAL.pdf, p. 15.

[47] "Freedom's Fortress," National Park Service, February 17, 2016, https://www.nps.gov/articles/featured_stories_fomr.htm.

[48] "Freedom's Fortress," National Park Service, February 17, 2016, https://www.nps.gov/articles/featured_stories_fomr.htm.

[49] Marion Blackburn, "Free Before Emancipation," *Archaeology* July/August 2015, https://www.archaeology.org/issues/184-1507/letter-from/3339-letter-from-virginia-contraband-camp.

[50] The majority-Black Hampton neighborhoods, however, were impacted by 1960s Urban Renewal projects carried out by the Hampton Redevelopment and Housing Authority (HRHA), which was created in 1958. The HRHA undertook five major redevelopment projects in downtown Hampton and the Old Hampton, Phoebus, Buckroe, and West Hampton areas. For a summary of the Urban Renewal movement in Virginia, see John C. Finn, "Urban Renewal in Virginia," *Encyclopedia Virginia,* Virginia Humanities, October 19, 2023, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/urban-renewal-in-virginia/.

[51] Craig Steven Wilder, historian, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and interviewee, *Driving While Black: Race, Space, and Mobility in America*, a 2020 film directed by Ric Burns and Gretchen Sorin, at 16:50 in film.

[52] "The Battlefront in Virginia: 1861 to 1876," Virginia Museum of History and Culture, no date, https://virginiahistory.org/learn/ story-of-virginia/chapter/reconstruction.

[53] Most American women could not vote until ratification of the 19ᵗʰ amendment to the U.S. Constitution in 1920.

[54] "Attendance Records of the State Constitutional Convention, 1867-1868," Library of Virginia, no date, https://edu.lva.virginia.gov/dbva/items/show/258.

[55] For in-depth discussion of Virginia's complicated political realm between 1865-1880, see Jane Dailey, *Before Jim Crow: The Politics of Race in Postemancipation Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.

[56] *Driving While Black: Race, Space, and Mobility in America*, a 2020 film directed by Ric Burns and Gretchen Sorin; "Jim Crow to Civil Rights in Virginia," Virginia Museum of History and Culture, Learning Resources, Black History, no date, https://virginiahistory.org/learn/jim-crow-civil-rights-virginia.

[57] Although free people of color had the ability to own property and several venerable Black churches, such as First Baptist Church in Williamsburg, dated to the colonial era, state and local laws had required White authorities to exercise control in various ways.

[58] Jane Covington, Willisville Historic District, National Register nomination, August 2019, www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/053-5116_Willisville_Historic_District_2019_NRHP_FINAL.pdf, p. 10, 23-24, 27, 29, 34, 39.

[59] Caitlin Sylvester and Heather Staton, Occupacia-Rappahannock Rural Historic District, National Register nomination, March 2020, www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/028-5084_Occupacia-Rappahannock_RHD_2020_NRHP_FINAL_public.pdf, p. 89-90, 91.

[60] Caitlin Sylvester and Heather Staton, Occupacia-Rappahannock Rural Historic District, National Register nomination, March 2020, www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/028-5084_Occupacia-Rappahannock_RHD_2020_NRHP_FINAL_public.pdf, p. 93-94. Other examples of rural Black communities that have persisted since Reconstruction and that illustrate similar settlement patterns are Pine Grove, which centers around the Pine Grove Elementary School in Cumberland County (see www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/024-5082_Pine_Grove_School_2019_NRHP_FINAL.pdf), and the Brown Grove Rural Historic District in Hanover County (see www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/042-5802_Brown_Grove_RHD_2022_NRHP_FINAL.pdf).

[61] Caitlin Sylvester and Heather Staton, Occupacia-Rappahannock Rural Historic District, National Register nomination, March 2020, www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/028-5084_Occupacia-Rappahannock_RHD_2020_NRHP_FINAL_public.pdf, p. 94.

[62] Caitlin Sylvester and Heather Staton, Occupacia-Rappahannock Rural Historic District, National Register nomination, March 2020, www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/028-5084_Occupacia-Rappahannock_RHD_2020_NRHP_FINAL_public.pdf, p. 89-90.

[63] One of the best-documented pre-Civil War Black cemeteries in Virginia is the Hickory Hill Slave and African American See Lena Sweeten McDonald, "Descendants Use Genealogy and Family Records to Argue for Preservation," Cemetery Newsletter, Virginia Department of Historic Resources, July 14, 2021, https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/blog-posts/hickory-hill-slave-and-african-american-cemetery/ and D. Reber Dunkel et al., Hickory Hill Slave and African American Cemetery, National Register nomination, February 2020, www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/042-5792_Hickory_Hill_Cemetery_2020_NRHP_FINAL.pdf.Cemetery. See Lena Sweeten McDonald, "Descendants Use Genealogy and Family Records to Argue for Preservation," Cemetery

[64] Erasure of Black cemeteries has not been limited to those for the enslaved. See L. Daniel Mouer, et al., Shockoe Hill Burying Ground Historic District," National Register nomination, February-March 2022, https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2022/03/127-7231_Shockoe_Hill_Burying_Ground_2022_NRHP_FINAL.pdf and Lynn Rainville, *Hidden History: African American Cemeteries in Central Virginia* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2016).

[65] Caitlin Sylvester and Heather Staton, Occupacia-Rappahannock Rural Historic District, National Register nomination, March 2020, www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/028-5084_Occupacia-Rappahannock_RHD_2020_NRHP_FINAL_public.pdf, p. 90.

[66] Bryan Clark Green, Rosenwald Schools in Virginia (012-5041), multiple property documentation form, June 30, 2007, www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/012-5041_Rosenwald_Schools_2004_NRHP_MPD_FINAL.pdf.

[67] Caitlin Sylvester and Heather Staton, Occupacia-Rappahannock Rural Historic District, National Register nomination, March 2020, www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/028-5084_Occupacia-Rappahannock_RHD_2020_NRHP_FINAL_public.pdf, p. 93.

[68] Heather Dollins Staton and Mark Olson, Shiloh Baptist Church (Old Site), National Register nomination, May 2015, www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/111-0096_ShilohBaptistChurchOldSite_2015_NRHP_FINAL.pdf.

[69] Christine Rae Henry and Andrea Livi Smith, "Segregation, Gentrification, and Heritage in Fredericksburg, Virginia," Chapter in *Urban Heritage in Divided Cities* (London: Routledge, 2019), p. 150-151.

[70] Christine Rae Henry and Andrea Livi Smith, "Segregation, Gentrification, and Heritage in Fredericksburg, Virginia," Chapter in *Urban Heritage in Divided Cities* (London: Routledge, 2019), p. 144.

[71] Detailed analysis of federal census data is needed to ascertain at least approximate numbers of Black Virginians who were on the move after the Civil War. A literature review did not identify any sources

[72] Sarah McPhail and Marcus Pollard, American Cigar Company," National Register nomination, March 2009, www.dhr.virginia.gov/VLR_to_transfer/PDFNoms/122-0658_American_Cigar_Company_Stemmery_2009_NR_FINAL.pdf; p. 3-4.

[73] Ashlen Stump, Kayla Halberg, and Paige Pollard, Historic Resources Associated with the African American Watermen of the Virginia Chesapeake Bay, Multiple Property Documentation Form, March 2, 2023, www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/500-0007_African_American_Watermen_MPD_2023_NRHP_FINAL.pdf;

[74] Gretchen Sorin, Graduate program director, State University of New York Oneonta, film director, and interviewee, *Driving While Black: Race, Space, and Mobility in America*, a 2020 film directed by Ric Burns and Gretchen Sorin, at 16:55 in film. For more detailed discussion of conditions in Virginia during the last quarter of the 19th century, see Jane Dailey, *Before Jim Crow: The Politics of Race in Postemancipation Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).

[75] Thomas Sugrue, historian, New York University, and interviewee, *Driving While Black: Race, Space, and Mobility in America*, a 2020 film directed by Ric Burns and Gretchen Sorin, at 18:24 in film; "Jim Crow to Civil Rights in Virginia," Virginia Museum of History and Culture, Learning Resources, Black History, no date, https://virginiahistory.org/learn/jim-crow-civil-rights-virginia.

[76] Spencer Crew, Interim Director of the National Museum of African American History and Culture and interviewee, *Driving While Black: Race, Space, and Mobility in America*, a 2020 film directed by Ric Burns and Gretchen Sorin, at 18:27 in film.

[77] *Driving While Black: Race, Space, and Mobility in America*, a 2020 film directed by Ric Burns and Gretchen Sorin.

[78] "Jim Crow to Civil Rights in Virginia," Virginia Museum of History and Culture, Learning Resources, Black History, no date, https://virginiahistory.org/learn/jim-crow-civil-rights-virginia; Katherine V. Coffield and Alison S. Blanton, Mechanicsville Historic District, National Register nomination, October 2013, p. 14-15.

[79] Ann Dailey, *Before Jim Crow: The Politics of Race in Postemancipation Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), p. 106. Use of violence to reassert control also was not unusual; a study by the Equal Justice Initiative identified 40 Virginia counties where racial violence occurred during Reconstruction. See "Racial Terror and Reconstruction: A State Snapshot," Equal Justice Initiative, 2020, https://eji.org/report/reconstruction-in-america/documenting-reconstruction-violence/.

[80] Jane Dailey, *Before Jim Crow: The Politics of Race in Postemancipation Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), p. 107, 109, 117.

[81] Jane Dailey, *Before Jim Crow: The Politics of Race in Postemancipation Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), p. 114-116. The riot occurred within the boundaries of the Danville Downtown Historic District; the event is not discussed in the original nomination and subsequent additional documentation.

[82] Jane Dailey, *Before Jim Crow: The Politics of Race in Postemancipation Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), p. 119-125.

[83] Brendan Wolfe, "Danville Riot (1883)," *Encyclopedia Virginia,* Virginia Humanities, December 7, 2020, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/danville-riot-1883/.

[84] Ann Dailey, *Before Jim Crow: The Politics of Race in Postemancipation Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), p. 111.

[85] "Jim Crow to Civil Rights in Virginia," Virginia Museum of History and Culture, Learning Resources, Black History, no date, https://virginiahistory.org/learn/jim-crow-civil-rights-virginia

[86] Anne McCreary and Errol Somay, "John Mitchell Jr. (1863-1929), *Encyclopedia Virginia*, Virginia Humanities, February 15, 2023, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/mitchell-john-jr-1863-1929/.

[87] Muriel Branch, "Maggie Lena Walker (1864-1934), *Encyclopedia Virginia*, Virginia Humanities, December 7, 2020, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/walker-maggie-lena-1864-1934/.

[88] Geoffrey B. Henry, "Maggie L. Walker National Historic Site," National Register nomination, January 10, 2021, https://wordpress-851339-3533967.cloudwaysapps.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/127-0275_Maggie_Walker_NHS_2022_updated_NR_nomination_100007681.pdf , p. 24-26, 32-34; Bryan Clark Green, St. Luke Building 2018 Update, National Register nomination, July 2018, https://wordpress-851339-3533967.cloudwaysapps.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/127-0352_StLukeBuildingUpdate_2018_NRHP_FINAL.pdf

[89] Donna Hollie, "Grand Fountain of the United Order of True Reformers," *Encyclopedia Virginia,* Virginia Humanities, December 7, 2020, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/grand-fountain-of-the-united-order-of-true-reformers/.

[90] "Jim Crow to Civil Rights in Virginia," Virginia Museum of History and Culture, Learning Resources, Black History, no date, https://virginiahistory.org/learn/jim-crow-civil-rights-virginia/. Detailed discussion of the Jim Crow era is available in J. Douglas Smith, *Managing White Supremacy: Race Politics and Citizenship in Jim Crow Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of Virginia Press, 2002).

[91] Eric Avila, Historian, University of California Los Angeles, *Driving While Black: Race, Space, and Mobility in America*, a 2020 film directed by Ric Burns and Gretchen Sorin, at 18:24 in film

[92] *Driving While Black: Race, Space, and Mobility in America*, a 2020 film directed by Ric Burns and Gretchen Sorin.

[93] Richard Weyeneth, "The Architecture of Racial Segregation: The Challenges of Preserving the Problematical Past," *The Public Historian* Vol. 27 No. 4 (Fall 2005), p. 15.

[94] Christine Rae Henry and Andrea Livi Smith, "Segregation, Gentrification, and Heritage in Fredericksburg, Virginia," Chapter in *Urban Heritage in Divided Cities* (London: Routledge, 2019), p. 148-149.

[95] Richard Weyeneth, "The Architecture of Racial Segregation: The Challenges of Preserving the Problematical Past," *The Public Historian* Vol. 27 No. 4 (Fall 2005), p. 26.

[96] Richard Weyeneth, "The Architecture of Racial Segregation: The Challenges of Preserving the Problematical Past," *The Public Historian* Vol. 27 No. 4 (Fall 2005), p. 13.

[97] Richard Weyeneth, "The Architecture of Racial Segregation: The Challenges of Preserving the Problematical Past," *The Public Historian* Vol. 27 No. 4 (Fall 2005), p. 34.

[98] Richard Weyeneth, "The Architecture of Racial Segregation: The Challenges of Preserving the Problematical Past," *The Public Historian* Vol. 27 No. 4 (Fall 2005), p. 34-35. Documentation of historic resources associated with Black-owned businesses is addressed sporadically in nominations for historic districts and individual properties. The Virginia Department of Historic Resources, however, has collected all of the nominations of places in Virginia that have been listed for their significance in the area of Ethnic Heritage: Black at https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/historic-registers/?jsf=jet-engine:register&tax=collection:342. The collection is updated on a quarterly basis as new nominations are approved.

[99] Kathleen Franz, historian at the Smithsonian National Museum of American History, *Driving While Black: Race, Space, and Mobility in America*, a 2020 film directed by Ric Burns and Gretchen Sorin, at 24:20 in film.

[100] Eric Avila, Historian, University of California Los Angeles, *Driving While Black: Race, Space, and Mobility in America*, a 2020 film directed by Ric Burns and Gretchen Sorin, at 25:35 in film.

[101] Fath Davis Ruffins, Curator of African American History & Culture in the National Museum of American History, *Driving While Black: Race, Space, and Mobility in America*, a 2020 film directed by Ric Burns and Gretchen Sorin, at 25:40 in film

[102] J. Douglas Smith, *Managing White Supremacy: Race Politics and Citizenship in Jim Crow Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), p. 50.

[103] Selden Richardson, *Built by Blacks: African American Architecture and Neighborhoods in Richmond* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2008), p. 132-141. During the mid-twentieth-century, Westwood also survived attempts by City officials to justify its destruction for the creation of a municipal park. The neighborhood received a state historical highway marker summarizing its significance in 2021.

[104] Much more detailed discussion of the Jim Crow era legal environment is available in J. Douglas Smith, *Managing White Supremacy: Race, Politics, and Citizenship in Jim Crow Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).

[105] Thomas Sugrue, historian, New York University, and interviewee, *Driving While Black: Race, Space, and Mobility in America*, a 2020 film directed by Ric Burns and Gretchen Sorin, at 27:20 in film.

[106] Unitarian Universalist Association, "Sundown Towns," no date, https://www.uua.org/multiculturalism/racial-justice/history/engaging/sundown-towns. Loewen's book, *Sundown Towns: A Hidden Dimension of American* Racism (New York: The New Press, 2006) detailed his research.

[107] Richard Weyeneth, "The Architecture of Racial Segregation: The Challenges of Preserving the Problematical Past," *The Public Historian* Vol. 27 No. 4 (Fall 2005), p. 18.

[108] "Historical Shift from Explicit to Implicit Policies Affecting Housing Segregation in Eastern Massachusetts," The Fair Housing Center of Greater Boston, no date, https://www.bostonfairhousing.org/timeline/1917-Buchanan-v.Warley.html.

[109] "Shelley v. Kraemer," Oyez, no date, https://www.oyez.org/cases/1940-1955/334us1; Kayla Halberg, Katie Paulson, and Ashlen Stump, "College Terrace Historic District," National Register nomination, August 2020, www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/137-5021_College_Terrace_HD_2020_NRHP_FINAL.pdf, p. 33. Property rights, more so than human rights, long have animated considerable discussion among jurists in the U.S. For a detailed summary of how these issues have and have not intersected historically, see B. Björkman and S.O. Hanson, "Bodily Rights and Property Rights," *Journal of Medical Ethics*, Vol. 32 No. 4 (April 2006), p. 209-214.

[110] Richard Weyeneth, "The Architecture of Racial Segregation: The Challenges of Preserving the Problematical Past," *The Public Historian* Vol. 27 No. 4 (Fall 2005), p. 13.

[111] Debra A. McClane, William Byrd Park, National Register nomination, August 28, 2015, www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/127-6067_WilliamByrdPark_2015_NRHP_FINAL.pdf, p. 33.

[112] Hill Studio P.C., Dr. Robert Walter Johnson House and Tennis Court, National Register nomination, www.dhr.virginia.gov/VLR_to_transfer/PDFNoms/118-0225-0077_DrRobertWalterJohnsonHouse&TennisCourt_2002_Final_ Nomination.pdf p. 4-6.

[113] Richard Weyeneth, "The Architecture of Racial Segregation: The Challenges of Preserving the Problematical Past," *The Public Historian* Vol. 27 No. 4 (Fall 2005), p. 33.

[114] Richard Weyeneth, "The Architecture of Racial Segregation: The Challenges of Preserving the Problematical Past," *The Public Historian* Vol. 27 No. 4 (Fall 2005), p. 29.

[115] Bryan Clark Green, Rosenwald Schools in Virginia (012-5041), multiple property documentation form, June 30, 2007, www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/012-5041_Rosenwald_Schools_2004_NRHP_MPD_FINAL.pdf, p. 10.

[116] Richard Weyeneth, "The Architecture of Racial Segregation: The Challenges of Preserving the Problematical Past," *The Public Historian* Vol. 27 No. 4 (Fall 2005), p. 15.

[117] Melissa Schmidt, Carver-Price School, National Register nomination, September 6, 2023, www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2023/12/165-5003_Carver-Price_2023_NRHP_FINAL.pdf, p. 24.

[118] Rev. Dr. James Sailes, et al., Chatsworth School, National Register nomination, March 3, 2021, www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2022/03/043-0544_Chatsworth_School_2022_NRHP_FINAL_nom.pdf, p. 22.

[119] Richard Weyeneth, "The Architecture of Racial Segregation: The Challenges of Preserving the Problematical Past," *The Public Historian* Vol. 27 No. 4 (Fall 2005), p. 29.

[120] Jonathan V. Parrent, Louisville and Nashville Combine Car Number 665, National Register nomination, July 21, 1997, https://npgallery.nps.gov/GetAsset/afa761f5-79a2-4401-9bda-4d35ea425567, p. 8/1-8/3.

[121] Richard Weyeneth, "The Architecture of Racial Segregation: The Challenges of Preserving the Problematical Past," *The Public Historian* Vol. 27 No. 4 (Fall 2005), p. 29.

[122] Richard Weyeneth, "The Architecture of Racial Segregation: The Challenges of Preserving the Problematical Past," *The Public Historian* Vol. 27 No. 4 (Fall 2005), p. 33.

[123] Thomas Gerdom, DAW Theater, National Register nomination, September 2023, www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2024/02/310-0024-0024_DAW-Theater_Board-POSTED.pdf, p. 18.

[124] John R. Kern and Leslie A. Giles, Gainsboro Library, National Register nomination, www.dhr.virginia.gov/VLR_to_transfer/PDFNoms/128-0256_Gainsboro_Branch_Roanoke_Public_Library_1996_Final_ Nomination.pdf, p. 8-9.

[125] Byron Smith, Petersburg Trailways Bus Station, National Register nomination, www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/123-5493_Trailways_Bus_Station_2015_ NRHP_FINAL.pdf, p. 12. In 1960s, local pastors and students from Virginia State University and Peabody High School entered the Whites-only waiting room and sat at the lunch counter to request service. After several sit-ins, the Trailways company desegregated all of its lunch counters in Virginia bus stations on August 15, 1960, a major victory for the long Civil Rights Movement.

[126] Alison Blanton and Ina Dixon, "Doctors Building," National Register nomination, www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/108-5703_Danville_DoctorsBuilding_2020_FINAL_nomination_web.pdf, p. 13-14.

[127] Evan Andrews, "The Bicycle's Bumpy History," September 29, 2023, History.com, Home/Topics/Inventions & Science, https://www.history.com/news/bicycle-history-invention.

[128] "Who Invented the Automobile?" Science Reference Section, Library of Congress, February 9, 2020, https://www.loc.gov/everyday-mysteries/motor-vehicles-aeronautics-astronautics/item/who-invented-the-automobile/; *A History of Roads in Virginia: "the most*

convenient wayes," (Richmond: Virginia Department of Transportation, Office of Public Affairs, 2002), p. 9.

[129] Benjamin D. Ford, Buckland Historic District 2019 Update, National Register nomination, June 2018, https://wordpress-851339-3533967.cloudwaysapps.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/076-0313_Buckland_HD_2019_Update_NRHP_revised_FINAL.pdf, p. 61-63, 66, 94.

[130] Benjamin D. Ford, Buckland Historic District 2019 Update, National Register nomination, June 2018, https://wordpress-851339-3533967.cloudwaysapps.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/076-0313_Buckland_HD_2019_Update_NRHP_revised_FINAL.pdf, p. 83-87. Some cities, including Roanoke, Richmond, and Norfolk, grew rapidly due to their position along multiple railroad routes and the consequential industrial development that occurred.

[131] T. Tyler Potterfield, *Nonesuch Place: A history of the Richmond Landscape* (Charleston, SC: History Press, 2009), p. 31, 48, 112-113; *A History of Roads in Virginia: "the most convenient wayes,"* (Richmond: Virginia Department of Transportation, Office of Public Affairs, 2002), p. 9.

[132] Benjamin D. Ford, Buckland Historic District 2019 Update, National Register nomination, June 2018, https://wordpress-851339-3533967.cloudwaysapps.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/076-0313_Buckland_HD_2019_Update_NRHP_revised_FINAL.pdf, p. 87; T. Tyler Potterfield, *Nonesuch Place: A history of the Richmond Landscape*, (Charleston, SC: History Press, 2009), p. 31; *A History of Roads in Virginia: "the most convenient wayes,"* (Richmond: Virginia Department of Transportation, Office of Public Affairs, 2002), p. 10.

[133] *A History of Roads in Virginia: "the most convenient wayes,"* (Richmond: Virginia Department of Transportation, Office of Public Affairs, 2002, p. 11. Additional research is needed to understand the individuals who were forced to provide road-building labor as a result of this legislation.

[134] *A History of Roads in Virginia: "the most convenient wayes,"* (Richmond: Virginia Department of Transportation, Office of Public Affairs, 2002, p. 11.

[135] *A History of Roads in Virginia: "the most convenient wayes,"* (Richmond: Virginia Department of Transportation, Office of Public Affairs, 2002, p.12-14; . Benjamin D. Ford, Buckland Historic District 2019 Update, National Register nomination, June 2018, https://wordpress-851339-3533967.cloudwaysapps.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/076-0313_Buckland_HD_2019_Update_NRHP_revised_FINAL.pdf, p. 88.

[136] *A History of Roads in Virginia: "the most convenient wayes,"* (Richmond: Virginia Department of Transportation, Office of Public Affairs, 2002, p.15-16; . Benjamin D. Ford, Buckland Historic District 2019 Update, National Register nomination, June 2018, https://wordpress-851339-3533967.cloudwaysapps.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/076-0313_Buckland_HD_2019_Update_NRHP_revised_FINAL.pdf, p. 90.

[137] Thomas Sugrue, Gretchen Sorin, and Kathleen Franz, *Driving While Black: Race, Space, and Mobility in America*, a 2020 film directed by Ric Burns and Gretchen Sorin, at 35:00-36:30 in film.

[138] Kathleen Franz, *Driving While Black: Race, Space, and Mobility in America*, a 2020 film directed by Ric Burns and Gretchen Sorin, at 37:35 in film.

[139] Fath Davis Ruffins, Allyson Hall, and Alvin Hall, *Driving While Black: Race, Space, and Mobility in America*, a 2020 film directed by Ric Burns and Gretchen Sorin, at 38:29-41:38 in film.

[140] Gretchen Sorin, *Driving While Black: Race, Space, and Mobility in America*, a 2020 film directed by Ric Burns and Gretchen Sorin, at 44:37 in film.

[141] *Driving While Black: Race, Space, and Mobility in America*, a 2020 film directed by Ric Burns and Gretchen Sorin.

[142] Richard Weyeneth, "The Architecture of Racial Segregation: The Challenges of Preserving the Problematical Past," *The Public Historian* Vol. 27 No. 4 (Fall 2005), p. 25.

[143] Richard Weyeneth, "The Architecture of Racial Segregation: The Challenges of Preserving the Problematical Past," *The Public Historian* Vol. 27 No. 4 (Fall 2005), p. 36.

[144] Richard Weyeneth, "The Architecture of Racial Segregation: The Challenges of Preserving the Problematical Past," *The Public Historian* Vol. 27 No. 4 (Fall 2005), p. 36.

[145] Aubrey Von Lindern, "Ida Mae Francis House," Preliminary Information Form, Virginia Department of Historic Resources, August 31, 2023, p.1-2.

[146] Walter Edwards, chair of the Harlem Business Alliance and interviewee, and Vernell Allen, community elder, *Driving While Black: Race, Space, and Mobility in America*, a 2020 film directed by Ric Burns and Gretchen Sorin, at 47:42 and 49:22 in film.

[147] Richard Weyeneth, "The Architecture of Racial Segregation: The Challenges of Preserving the Problematical Past," *The Public Historian* Vol. 27 No. 4 (Fall 2005), p. 36-37; National Park Service, African American Civil Rights Network, "Green Book Historic Context and AACRN Listing Guidance," no date, https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/green-book-historic-context-and-aacrn-listing-guidance-african-american-civil-rights-network.htm.

[148] Richard Weyeneth, "The Architecture of Racial Segregation: The Challenges of Preserving the Problematical Past," *The Public Historian* Vol. 27 No. 4 (Fall 2005), p. 36-37.

[149] *Driving While Black: Race, Space, and Mobility in America*, a 2020 film directed by Ric Burns and Gretchen Sorin; National Park Service, African American Civil Rights Network, "Green Book Historic Context and AACRN Listing Guidance," no date, https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/green-book-historic-context-and-aacrn-listing-guidance-african-american-civil-rights-network.htm.

[150] National Park Service, African American Civil Rights Network, "Green Book Historic Context and AACRN Listing Guidance," no date, https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/green-book-historic-context-and-aacrn-listing-guidance-african-american-civil-rights-network.htm.

[151] *Driving While Black: Race, Space, and Mobility in America*, a 2020 film directed by Ric Burns and Gretchen Sorin; National Park Service, African American Civil Rights Network, "Green Book Historic Context and AACRN Listing Guidance," no date, https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/green-book-historic-context-and-aacrn-listing-guidance-african-american-civil-rights-network.htm.

[152] National Park Service, African American Civil Rights Network, "Green Book Historic Context and AACRN Listing Guidance," no date, https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/green-book-historic-context-and-aacrn-listing-guidance-african-american-civil-rights-network.htm.

[153] *Driving While Black: Race, Space, and Mobility in America*, a 2020 film directed by Ric Burns and Gretchen Sorin; National Park Service, African American Civil Rights Network, "Green Book Historic Context and AACRN Listing Guidance," no date, https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/green-book-historic-context-and-aacrn-listing-guidance-african-american-civil-rights-network.htm.

[154] Carolyn Finner, cultural geographer, author of *Black Faces, White Spaces,* and interviewee, *Driving While Black: Race, Space, and Mobility in America*, a 2020 film directed by Ric Burns and Gretchen Sorin, at 1:09:48 in film.

[155] Carole E. Scott, "The History of the Radio Industry in the United States to 1940," Economic History Association, EH.Net Encyclopedia, ed. Robert Whaples, March 26, 2008, https://eh.net/encyclopedia/the-history-of-the-radio-industry-in-the-united-states-to-1940/#:~:text=Radio%20broadcasting%20was%20the%20cheapest,the%20nation's%20household s%20had%20radios. The vast majority of movie studios and radio broadcasters in U.S. history have been owned and controlled by White executives. From the 1900s-1950s, such companies had little interest in promoting the performing arts of non-White cultures. Instead, many popular radio shows and movie studios promoted detrimental racial and ethnic stereotypes. By the 1930s, however, White audiences were making it clear that they, too, wanted to see exceptional Black musicians and singers, which allowed some Black celebrities to "cross over" to White (aka "mainstream") audiences.

[156] Vaudeville has roots in the minstrel shows in which White performers wore blackface and performed racist skits. By booking Black performers for vaudeville shows, Black artists reclaimed this aspect of live theatrical performances.

[157] Taylor Wesseln, "T.O.B.A. History," December 13, 2021, https://musicalgeography.org/history-of-t-o-b-a/; Maeve Nagel-Frazel, "Mapping the Dudley Circuit," July 29, 2021, https://musicalgeography.org/mapping-the-dudley-circuit/

[158] Roland Martin and Rene Ostberg, "Chitlin Circuit: American Entertainment," *Brittanica*, no date, https://www.britannica.com/topic/chitlin-circuit.

[159] Robert J. Taylor Jr., Halifax Triangle Historic District, National Register nomination, July 2018, p. 19, 24-25.

[160] Unmarried women who offered boarding to lodgers would have been frowned upon in accord with the mores of the period.

[161] National Park Service, African American Civil Rights Network, "Green Book Historic Context and AACRN Listing Guidance," no date, https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/green-book-historic-context-and-aacrn-listing-guidance-african-american-civil-rights-network.htm.

[162] "Judicial and Political Abandonment," in Chapter 5, Reconstruction's End, of *Reconstruction in America* Equal Justice Initiative, 2020, https://eji.org/report/reconstruction-in-america/reconstructions-end/#judicial-and-political-abandonment. The Equal Justice Initiative further documented that twelve large-scale massacres occurred in Black communities between 1872-1876.

[163] Michael Brune, "Pulling Down our Monuments," Sierra Club, July 22, 2020, https://www.sierraclub.org/michael-brune/2020/07/john-muir-early-history-sierra-club.

[164] Andrew W. Kahrl et al., *African American Outdoor Recreation Theme Study: Historic Context and National Historic Landmark Survey* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2022), p. 14-15, 21-22, 24.

[165] For further reading on Virginia's historic segregated state and national parks, see Melina Bezirdjian et al. and Meg Malvasi, Pocahontas State Park, National Register nomination, May 2015 and March 2009, www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/ 2018/04/020-0011_PocahontasStateParkHD_2015_NRHP_Web_Version_FINAL.pdf; Josh Howard et al., Green Pastures Recreation Area, National Register nomination, October 2021, www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/003-5109_Green_Pastures_2021_nomination_FINAL.pdf; Linda Flint McClellan and Reed L. Engle, Skyline Drive Historic District, National Historic Landmark nomination, 2008, https://wordpress-851339-3533967.cloudwaysapps.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/069-0234_Skyline_Drive_Historic_District_2008_NHL_Final.pdf; and Meg Green Malvasi, Twin Lakes State Park, National Register nomination, September 2012, www.dhr.virginia.gov/VLR_to_transfer/PDFNoms/073-0070_Twin_Lakes_State_Park_2012_NR_FINAL.pdf.

[166] Erin Krutko Devlin, *Segregation in Virginia's National Parks, 1916-1965* (Washington DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, July 2022), p. xi-xii, 142. The report includes close examination of segregation in Virginia as well as trends that were applicable to all places where Jim Crow laws were imposed. Both this report and study, Andrew W. Kahrl et al., *African American Outdoor Recreation Theme Study: Historic Context and National Historic Landmark Survey* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2022), include discussion of the natural and cultural landscapes associated with African Americans' relationship to outdoor spaces and imposition of White supremacy on how Black citizens interacted with and move through such landscapes.

[167] William T. Frazier et al., Montgomery Hall Park, National Register nomination, www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2018/ 10/132-5023_Montgomery_Hall_2017_NRHP_FINAL.pdf, P. 10-14, 37-40.

[168] Linda Flint McClellan and Reed L. Engle, Skyline Drive Historic District, National Historic Landmark nomination, 2008, https://wordpress-851339-3533967.cloudwaysapps.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/069-0234_Skyline_Drive _Historic_ District_2008_NHL_Final.pdfP. 39, 80.

[169] Meg Green Malvasi, Twin Lakes State Park, National Register nomination, September 2012, www.dhr.virginia.gov/VLR_to_ transfer/PDFNoms/073-0070_Twin_Lakes_State_Park_2012_NR_FINAL.pdf, p.15.

[170] Detailed discussion of the detrimental and discriminatory policies of the FHA, the Home Owners Loan Corporation, and other federal agencies involved in financing residential construction loans and homeowner mortgages is available in Richard Rothstein's *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2017).

[171] National Park Service, African American Civil Rights Network, "Green Book Historic Context and AACRN Listing Guidance," no date, https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/green-book-historic-context-and-aacrn-listing-guidance-african-american-civil-rights-network.htm.

[172] National Park Service, African American Civil Rights Network, "Green Book Historic Context and AACRN Listing Guidance," no date, https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/green-book-historic-context-and-aacrn-listing-guidance-african-american-civil-rights-network.htm.

[173] Robert A. Pollard, ed., *The History of the Loudoun County Courthouse and Its Role in the Path to Freedom, Justice, and Racial Equality in Loudoun County* (Leesburg, VA: Loudoun County Heritage Commission, March 1, 2019), p. 68-70. A National Historic Landmark nomination is in progress for the Loudoun County Courthouse due to its association with the national significance of the Crawford case and its impact on the NAACP's legal strategy.

[174] National Park Service, African American Civil Rights Network, "Green Book Historic Context and AACRN Listing Guidance," no date, https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/green-book-historic-context-and-aacrn-listing-guidance-african-american-civil-rights-network.htm

[175] National Park Service, African American Civil Rights Network, "Green Book Historic Context and AACRN Listing Guidance," no date, https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/green-book-historic-context-and-aacrn-listing-guidance-african-american-civil-rights-network.htm.

[176] Susan Hellman, *The Architecture of The Negro Traveler's Green Book* website on the Virginia webpage, https://community.village. virginia.edu/greenbooks/states/virginia/.

[177] Thomas Sugrue, *Driving While Black: Race, Space, and Mobility in America*, a 2020 film directed by Ric Burns and Gretchen Sorin, at 1:15:15.

[178] Christine Rae Henry and Andrea Livi Smith, "Segregation, Gentrification, and Heritage in Fredericksburg, Virginia," Chapter in *Urban Heritage in Divided Cities* (London: Routledge, 2019), p. 144.

[179] Christine Rae Henry and Andrea Livi Smith, "Segregation, Gentrification, and Heritage in Fredericksburg, Virginia," Chapter in *Urban Heritage in Divided Cities* (London: Routledge, 2019), p. 152-153.

[180] Christine Rae Henry and Andrea Livi Smith, "Segregation, Gentrification, and Heritage in Fredericksburg, Virginia," Chapter in *Urban Heritage in Divided Cities* (London: Routledge, 2019), p. 143-146, 155-156.

[181] Christine Rae Henry and Andrea Livi Smith, "Segregation, Gentrification, and Heritage in Fredericksburg, Virginia," Chapter in *Urban Heritage in Divided Cities* (London: Routledge, 2019), p. 153.

[182] Helen Ross, *The Architecture of The Negro Traveler's Green Book* website on the Virginia webpage, https://community.village. virginia.edu/greenbooks/states/virginia/.

[183] National Park Service, African American Civil Rights Network, "Green Book Historic Context and AACRN Listing Guidance," no date, https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/green-book-historic-context-and-aacrn-listing-guidance-african-american-civil-rights-network.htm.

[184] Eric Avila, Historian, University of California Los Angeles, *Driving While Black: Race, Space, and Mobility in America*, a 2020 film directed by Ric Burns and Gretchen Sorin, at 1:16:08 and 1:17:02-1:18:14in film.

[185] Lolis Ellis, filmmaker and interviewee, *Driving While Black: Race, Space, and Mobility in America*, a 2020 film directed by Ric Burns and Gretchen Sorin, at 1:16:47 in film.

[186] National Park Service, African American Civil Rights Network, "Green Book Historic Context and AACRN Listing Guidance," no date, https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/green-book-historic-context-and-aacrn-listing-guidance-african-american-civil-rights-network.htm.

[187] Richard Weyeneth, "The Architecture of Racial Segregation: The Challenges of Preserving the Problematical Past," *The Public Historian* Vol. 27 No. 4 (Fall 2005), p. 36-37.

[188] Allyson Hobbs, historian, *Driving While Black: Race, Space, and Mobility in America*, a 2020 film directed by Ric Burns and Gretchen Sorin, at 1:14:00 in film.

[189] National Park Service, African American Civil Rights Network, "Green Book Historic Context and AACRN Listing Guidance," no date, https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/green-book-historic-context-and-aacrn-listing-guidance-african-american-civil-rights-network.htm.

[190] *Driving While Black: Race, Space, and Mobility in America*, a 2020 film directed by Ric Burns and Gretchen Sorin, at 1:27:28 in film.

[191] Alvin Hall, *Driving While Black: Race, Space, and Mobility in America*, a 2020 film directed by Ric Burns and Gretchen Sorin, at 1:27:36 in film.

[192] Lolis Elie, *Driving While Black: Race, Space, and Mobility in America*, a 2020 film directed by Ric Burns and Gretchen Sorin, at 1:28:44 in film.