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Courageous Motorists

African American Pioneers on Route 66



FRANK NORRIS

Beginning in the mid-1920s, before the advent of the interstate highway system in the 1960s and 1970s, U.S. Highway 66 was just one of many ribbons of asphalt that brought Americans west to the Pacific Coast. For many this highway was magical because it connected the conventional, established Midwest, with sunny, prosperous southern California. As Nat “King” Cole crooned in the runaway Bobby Troup hit from 1946, Route 66 “winds from Chicago to L.A., more than 2,000 miles all the way,” and along the way it passed through portions of Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California. Many people connect Route 66—known more recently as “the Mother Road”—to America’s love affair with the automobile, 1950s-era nostalgia, and the freedom of the open road. As author and storyteller Michael Wallis has characterized it, “Route 66 . . . will always mean going somewhere.”¹

However, not everyone enjoyed the same degree of freedom while traveling long distances along Route 66 or other highways. Cole and other American blacks, for example, yearned to take the wheel and experience adventure out on the open road, but the prevalent racial attitudes of mid-twentieth-century America forced them to adapt, to be inventive, and at times to simply endure.² Despite sizable challenges, a courageous and growing stream of blacks took to the road between the mid-1920s and the passage of the Civil Rights Act of

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1964.³ The more intrepid motorists—the exact number of whom will never be known—broke with convention and headed west to California.

Although the history of black motorists has recently received considerable attention, most researchers have focused on travel east of the Mississippi River across states where most blacks lived.⁴ Writers have also looked closely at various guidebooks targeted for African Americans, especially Victor Green's travel guide.⁵ This article will use the Route 66 experience as a case study to examine how an African American family or a black businessman might have experienced a long-distance driving trip across the Great Plains, the mountain states, and on to the Pacific Coast. It will address a number of unresolved questions: What was the racial geography of the areas along Route 66 west of the Mississippi River? What was the social status of African Americans in the various Route 66 communities, and how did that translate into the treatment of black travelers? Did guidebooks provide an effective way to make the trip west more comfortable for African American motorists? For black travelers without guidebooks, what strategies did they employ to eat and get rest along the way? How many facilities welcomed black travelers along Route 66? During the half century that has elapsed since the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, what has become of these "safe havens" along the road?

More than a decade before the creation of Route 66 in 1926, sizable numbers of African Americans—perhaps more than a million—had been migrating out of the rural south as part of the Great Migration. Many settled in New York, Chicago, Detroit, and other large northern cities, but considerable numbers also headed west to California.⁶ They abandoned the South en masse not only to find economic opportunity in the manufacturing and service sectors but also to escape painful forms of discrimination. In the South, a bewildering array of Jim Crow laws and customs consigned African Americans to a second-class status in education, jobs, political expression, and access to public accommodations. For newly arrived blacks, life outside the South was by no means easy. Through sheer numbers, however, blacks in the north attained a new identity and, in many areas, led a cultural renaissance.⁷

While the separation of the races was most oppressive—and visually obvious—south of the Mason-Dixon Line, northern states and cities were discriminatory as well, though in more subtle forms. One manifestation of this discrimination in northern states, primarily outside larger cities, was the "sundown town." Sociologist James Loewen defines a "sundown town," statistically, as a city, town, or village that has nine or fewer black residents. As he notes, the racial geography of many states, particularly those in the Midwest, was highly uneven: some cities and counties had long been home to a fairly sizable number of black residents, while adjacent cities and counties counted few if any blacks in their population

totals.⁸ Although some scholars have suggested that this unevenness was the result of varying economic opportunities or simply historical happenstance, Loewen cites many confirmed examples of new black residents “being asked to leave town before sundown” to argue that white prejudice played a strong role in the relative absence of African Americans in many cities and counties. These residential patterns were most pronounced during the early to mid-twentieth century, but Loewen suggests that, in many areas, they persisted for decades after the enactment, during the 1960s, of major federal civil rights legislation.⁹

Because much of Loewen’s research focuses on the demography of Illinois and adjacent midwestern states, a key question arises: to what extent did these patterns persist in the Great Plains, the Rocky Mountains, and the various Pacific Coast states? To be more specific: when black travelers headed southwest from Illinois along U.S. Highway 66, were “sundown towns” the rule or the exception?

Census statistics for the years 1930 and 1950 shed considerable light on “sundown towns” and their prevalence along the various segments of Route 66. Using Loewen’s criteria, these figures reveal that all seven of the states with significant Route 66 mileage had a considerable number of sundown towns (see table 1). In both years, at least one-fifth of enumerated communities in all seven states were sundown towns. In 1930 sundown towns comprised 44 of the 89 identified Route 66 communities (49.4 percent of all communities), while twenty years later, sundown towns numbered 25 of 73 identified Route 66 communities (34.2 percent of all communities). These statistics strongly suggest that sundown towns were prevalent along the entire length of Route 66, not just in the Midwest. However, there does appear to be a diminution of the sundown-town phenomenon between 1930 and 1950.¹⁰

What the statistics cannot show is *why* so many cities and towns along the Route 66 corridor had few if any black residents. Regardless of the historical causes, the census figures demonstrate that cities and large towns, not surprisingly, were highly likely to have a significant number of black residents, while small towns and villages were most likely to be “sundown towns.” It was therefore safest for blacks, in their Route 66 trip planning, to aim toward the larger, more cosmopolitan population centers where they were most likely to encounter a sizable black neighborhood with its own hotels, rooming houses, and restaurants.

Beyond the pitfalls of staying in small towns and villages, African Americans heading west along Route 66 needed to be aware of the levels of discrimination that prevailed in the various states along the way. Discrimination was widespread but varied considerably from state to state and within those states as well. In Illinois, for example, discrimination against blacks was legally forbidden thanks to the efforts of John Thomas, a black legislator from Chicago. In June 1885, Thomas convinced the state legislature to pass a law stating that all Illinois

Table 1. SUNDOWN TOWNS ALONG ROUTE 66, 1930 AND 1950

State	1930 Total Towns	1930 Sundown Towns	1950 Total Towns	1950 Sundown Towns
Illinois	20	9	17	6
Missouri	13	3	14	6
Kansas	1	0	1	0
Oklahoma	18	8	15	4
Texas*	5	2	5	2
New Mexico	8	6	5	2
Arizona	10	8	5	2
California	14	8	11	3
Total	89	44	73	25

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, *U.S. Census of Population and Housing, 1930*, vol. 3 (Washington D.C.: GPO, 1932), state tables 13, 15, 16, 21, and 22; U.S. Census Bureau, *U.S. Census of Population by State, 1950*, vol. 2 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1953) state tables 6, 14, 34, 38, 40, and 42. *Census statistics for Texas refers to counties rather than cities.

residents had equal access to hotels, restaurants, transportation, and other public accommodations. Enforcement of the law proved unworkable, however as a result it was widely ignored.¹¹

Blacks who traveled through Illinois in the mid-twentieth century, however, were treated differently depending on race relations in specific communities. In Chicago, thanks to sit-ins and other nonviolent action starting in the mid-1940s, blacks slowly gained access to most public accommodations.¹² By the 1950s, no similar social progress had occurred in either Springfield or East St. Louis, but the sheer number of black residents in these communities made it easy for travelers to find areas where they were welcome. Across the state, however, de facto discrimination pervaded almost every aspect of black-white relationships, and this condition remained largely unchanged until the early 1960s. In Bloomington and Normal, for example, blacks sat in the “crow’s nest” in movie theaters. Few restaurants seated African Americans, who also received only limited access to public accommodations.¹³

According to the 1930 and 1950 censuses, about half of Illinois’ downstate counties along Route 66 had one or more “sundown towns.”¹⁴ In 1962 Chicago-based civil rights demonstrators reacted to the discriminatory environment by vowing to stage a series of restaurant sit-ins along Route 66.¹⁵ Yet, no change took place. A year later, a restaurant owner in Towanda (a few miles northeast of Bloomington) refused service to five black customers because, as one news account noted, “He would serve only those customers he personally chose to accommodate.”¹⁶

In Missouri, which had once been a slave state, the story was much the same as in Illinois. In 1943 the state legislature squelched a bill that would have given blacks equal access to public places such as restaurants and theatres.¹⁷ Soon afterward racial environments began to change in St. Louis, the state's largest city. Lunch counters in department stores and municipal buildings were integrated in the mid-1940s and the 1950s, as were several hotels in the early to mid-1950s.¹⁸ By 1960 St. Louis had desegregated all of its restaurants and cafes. Elsewhere in the state along Route 66, accommodations remained as firmly segregated as they had been for generations.¹⁹

Throughout Oklahoma, southern-style segregation was the law of the land until August 1958, when an Oklahoma City teacher, Clara Luper, led a sit-in at a local drug store. Her protest, which occurred eighteen months before the better publicized sit-in at a Greensboro, North Carolina, drug store, led to similar actions over the next six years and the integration of scores of city restaurants, cafes, theaters, and hotels.²⁰ In Tulsa, many of the same nonviolent demonstrations were orchestrated by a coalition of local ministers, who trained the youth to integrate restaurants, public pools, public parks, and shops.²¹ Oklahoma's many small towns, however, remained firmly segregated until the passage of federal legislation. In Texas—which had been part of the Confederacy, and where separate restrooms and drinking fountains had long been the norm—the integration of public facilities, including those in Amarillo and elsewhere in the state's panhandle, waited until the passage of the Civil Rights Act.²²

Between Chicago and the Texas Panhandle, the racial composition of the passing landscape held a white-black dichotomy. In each of the five intervening states, whites comprised a strong majority of the population, and blacks were the principal minority racial group.²³ West of the Texas–New Mexico line, however, this racial pattern dissolved and gave way to a more complex, multicultural racial composite. In both New Mexico and Arizona, blacks ranked a distant fourth behind whites, Hispanics, and American Indians, and they comprised less than 4 percent of the population, a far smaller proportion than in the more eastern states.²⁴

Within New Mexico, the reception of blacks by the majority population varied by location. Conditions in southern and eastern New Mexico were similar to those in Texas, while Santa Fe was reputedly more tolerant.²⁵ Albuquerque was somewhere in between. In 1948 a protest at the local Walgreen's drug store forced the management to open its soda fountain to blacks, but other public facilities refused to accept black patrons.²⁶ In February 1952, the Albuquerque City Commission passed an ordinance that prohibited discrimination in places of public accommodation.²⁷ Three years later, the New Mexico legislature passed a statewide civil rights statute, the first such legal protection in the intermountain west.²⁸ The passage of both the Albuquerque ordinance and the state law

reflected the New Mexico public's growing acceptance of blacks.²⁹ However, as in Illinois, the lack of a strong enforcement mechanism for either of these measures caused occasional backsliding, such as an incident in October 1960 when an Albuquerque restaurant refused service to a University of New Mexico student from Ceylon (present day Sri Lanka).³⁰

In Arizona, as in New Mexico, blacks ranked fourth demographically and encountered similar discrimination in public accommodations.³¹ In Phoenix, for example, theatres segregated black and American Indian patrons from white customers until 1954. Other public accommodations remained separated until 1960, when a series of sit-ins in Tucson triggered a decision by Phoenix restaurant owners to voluntarily adopt an "open-door" policy. Compliance was widespread, and no major incidents took place until 1963, when a Mexican American café operator refused to serve African Americans. In response, the Phoenix City Council passed a public accommodations ordinance.³² Along the Route 66 corridor in northern Arizona, blacks numbered less than 2 percent of all residents. Many blacks who lived there worked either in the Flagstaff-area lumber industry or for the railroad in Winslow. Discrimination was in full force, however, all along the way. In both Flagstaff and Winslow, for example, blacks and Hispanics had to sit upstairs at movie theaters, and the Flagstaff sheriff prevented nonwhites from patronizing restaurants north of Highway 66, even though there were no specific ordinances enforcing segregation.³³ One Hispanic woman who lived in Flagstaff before World War II declared, "Talk about discrimination! You couldn't go anywhere if you weren't Anglo."³⁴ Elsewhere along Route 66 in Arizona, the black population was so small that race was scarcely an issue. As late as 1950, Williams had only two black residents while Kingman had just one.³⁵

At the far western end of Route 66, the Los Angeles area had been home to thousands of African Americans since the 1890s.³⁶ In 1897 white assemblyman Henry Clay Dibble led the state legislature to pass a bill guaranteeing equal access to public accommodations. The advocacy of Frederick Madison Roberts, the state's first black assemblyman, helped strengthen the law in 1919 and 1923.³⁷ As in Illinois, however, its enforcement was negligible. In the late 1930s, African American musician Duke Ellington was refused service at a hotel outside the city's black business district, and during World War II, blacks were barred from many hotels, restaurants, theaters, and parks. After the war, blacks continued to face unfair treatment in housing and employment, and some beaches and public pools remained segregated. Finally, in 1959, civil rights groups convinced the California State Legislature to pass the Unruh Act, which increased the penalty for business owners who refused to serve nonwhite patrons.³⁸

Most African American travelers who drove west on Route 66, unsurprisingly, knew little or nothing about the multiplicity of civil rights laws and customs in

the various states and cities along the way. As historian Gretchen Sullivan Sorin has noted, “The nation was divided by a confusing maze of laws . . . that differed by state.”³⁹ This meant that even the best-informed black traveler was bound to be perplexed and confused. The African American scholar Robert Russa Moton described the challenges of travel before World War II: “How a colored man . . . can be expected to know all the intricacies of segregation as he travels in different parts of the country is beyond explanation. The truth of the matter is, he is expected to find out as best he can.”⁴⁰ Black motorists were constantly torn between the need for safety and acceptance, on the one hand, and a contrasting spirit of adventure and hope for breaking away from age-old patterns of segregation and inequality, on the other hand. Given the humiliation of train travel in Jim Crow cars and bus travel, where blacks were forced to take a back seat, driving gave blacks a considerable degree of flexibility, freedom, and anonymity—a “protective bubble,” as one historian calls it.⁴¹ If the highway itself was egalitarian and open to all, the roadside was not, so black travelers “did all they could to insulate themselves, and particularly their children, from unpleasant confrontations with whites.”⁴²

One major resource for black travelers trying to find “safe havens” was the guidebook. During the late 1920s, when Route 66 was a newly designated highway, black motorists had few ways of knowing which hotels and restaurants would accept them. They sought advice from friends and relatives, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), or the Negro Welfare League.⁴³ In 1930 the first travel guide catering specifically to a black audience was published: *Hackley and Harrison’s Hotel and Apartment Guide for Colored Travelers*.⁴⁴ Soon after its publication, economic conditions began to slowly improve, automobile driving for pleasure began to rebound, and there was a boom in the publication of travel books.⁴⁵ In 1936 a new guide for black travelers emerged called the *Negro Motorist Green Book*. Published by New York-based travel agent Victor Green and his wife Alma (Duke) Green, the *Green Book* quickly gained in popularity, and revised editions appeared annually. Like the *Hackley and Harrison* guide, it offered hotel and restaurant listings for cities throughout the United States, though the majority of its listings were for New York, Chicago, and other northern cities that had large black populations. The *Green Book*, priced at a dollar or less, was distributed at Standard Oil and Esso stations throughout the country. It provided valuable options for travelers who hoped to avoid “embarrassment” and “inconveniences,” as Green tactfully phrased it.⁴⁶ It soon faced competition from up to a dozen competitors, including *Grayson’s Travel and Business Guide* (1937); *Smith’s Tourist Guide* (1940); the *Travelguide* (1947); and the *Go Guide* (1958). None of these competitors, however, had the staying power or enjoyed the broad circulation of

the *Negro Motorist Green Book*. Indeed, in 1962, some two million copies of the *Green Book* were distributed to the traveling public.⁴⁷

The existence of the various travel guides for African Americans, however, raises a larger question: did the typical African American tourist heading down a long-distance highway such as Route 66 depend on a guidebook, or did they test the waters without one? Given the country's racial climate, some kind of guidebook seemed to be a practical necessity because the country's public accommodations, with only slight variations between southern and northern states, were overtly hostile to blacks.⁴⁸ A writer for the black-owned *Pittsburgh (Penn.) Courier*, George Schuyler, recalled, "Prior to 1945, the number of hotels, restaurants, motels and such establishments that welcomed Negro patronage outside the south was infinitesimal." By 1949, "Negro travelers were welcome in not more than 6 percent of the nation's better hotels and motels," and there were "probably fewer than twenty cities in the country where Negroes are not completely barred from white-owned restaurants."⁴⁹ Irv Logan Jr., a black resident of Springfield, Missouri, offered a decidedly downbeat assessment in his recollection of what Route 66 travel had been for blacks: "Between Chicago and Los Angeles you couldn't rent a room if you were tired after a long drive. You couldn't sit down in a restaurant or diner or buy a meal no matter how much money you had. You couldn't find a place to answer the call of nature even with a pocketful of money . . . if you were a person of color traveling on Route 66 in the 1940s and 1950s."⁵⁰ The viewpoint of James Williams, who rode with a group of friends in 1942 from Louisiana to Flagstaff, was just as glum: "You'd have to drive all night and have to look for the colored part of town, maybe you could find a room."⁵¹ Given the pervasive hostility and uncertainty, it was no wonder that the black-owned travel guides were used so widely. The matter-of-fact slogan on the cover of the Victor Green guide testified to its value: "Carry Your Green Book With You; You May Need It."⁵²

Some blacks, however, did not use the *Green Book* or any other guide, but instead applied a broad range of well-honed strategies to survive. Many families, for example, simply drove straight through to their destination, driving all night long if necessary; they packed picnic baskets of food and stopped only to fuel their gas tank or when nature called. Some families stayed with friends along the way. One former Pennsylvania resident, who took two trips out to California as a child, recalls that her father avoided any possible difficulties during the cross-country trip by staying overnight in national park campgrounds.⁵³ Others learned from friends to avoid towns that had a reputation for discrimination or violence, kept an eye out for the black part of town, or read the faces of people on the street in search of clues. Some black travelers went to the downtown train station and asked a train porter for information about the town, while others drove down the main street, looking for a black resident.⁵⁴ Or they might ask a



Grahams Rib Station along Route 66. Photograph courtesy of Special Collections and Archives, Missouri State University, Springfield, Missouri.

white passer-by, “Where can *we* get something to eat?” or “Where can *we* find a room for the night?”⁵⁵ One black journalist recalled, “I found myself picking out places to stop or, rather, letting them pick me out . . . the eye drifts over this motel or that, seeking some instinctive assurance that you will not have to put your life on the line by asking for a single for the night.”⁵⁶

As African American tourists headed west along Route 66, their options for lodging ran the gamut from splendid to tawdry. Before the early 1950s, the most likely type of accommodation was the rooming house, known in the *Green Book* nomenclature as a “tourist home.” These overnight facilities were typically owned and operated by women, often widows; most offered meals as well as beds. These were supplemented, particularly in the larger cities, by hotels located along a major business street. Journalist Isabel Wilkerson notes in *The Warmth of Other Suns*:

A haphazard network of twentieth-century safe houses . . . sprang up all over the country . . . during the days of segregation. Some were seedy motels in the red-light district of whatever city they were in. There were a handful of swanky ones . . . but many of them were unkempt rooming houses or merely an extra bedroom in some colored family’s row house in the colored district of a given town. . . . Thus, there developed a kind

of Underground Railroad for colored travelers, spread by word of mouth among friends and in fold-up maps and green paperback guidebooks that listed colored lodges by state or city.⁵⁷

By the mid-1950s, suburban motels catering to blacks also began to proliferate along the Route 66 corridor, particularly between Tulsa and Los Angeles. These facilities, while roomier than their central-city equivalents, were typically smaller, less glamorous, and less advertised than adjacent motels that catered to white travelers.

Blacks found that the West could be an unpredictable place. In 1959 an African American member of the University of Utah men's basketball team visited a Salt Lake City restaurant that proclaimed "No Coloreds," but "when the staff learned he was the new starting center at the U, they decided to make an exception."⁵⁸ Historian Gretchin Sullivan Sorin located two references to restaurants in Wyoming that refused to serve blacks. As Wilkerson elegantly stated, blacks knew all too well that white hotel owners had a long list of ready-made excuses for refusing the black trade: "We just rented our last room," "We forgot to turn off the vacancy sign," and in at least one documented case, "The rest of the motel owners will ostracize us."⁵⁹ But there are other documented cases—from Colorado, Utah, California, and elsewhere in the West—where blacks were welcomed at motels, restaurants, and similar facilities. In North Dakota, the state tourism department stated that black visitors would be treated "as well as anyone else."⁶⁰ The historical record, at this point, sheds insufficient light on this subject. More research is needed, perhaps from oral histories, to help address the question of how well blacks were accepted while motoring through the various western states.

Given the available information in the various travel guides for African Americans, it appears that the black family or businessman heading west from Chicago along Route 66 would have had a relatively easy time finding accommodations in any town that had a sizable black population. In Illinois, Chicago as well as Springfield and East St. Louis had an array of establishments that welcomed black travelers. St. Louis, Mo., was similarly welcoming (see table 2). The next towns, farther west, along Route 66 that had listings for black travelers were Lebanon, Springfield, Carthage, and Joplin, all in the southwestern part of the state.⁶¹ In Oklahoma blacks driving west on Route 66 could count on staying in Tulsa and Oklahoma City, both of which had sizable black business districts. Once headed west from Oklahoma City, however, black motorists were on their own until they reached Amarillo, Texas, which had several rooming houses and restaurants that opened their doors to blacks.⁶² In all these states, from the shores of Lake Michigan in Illinois west to the panhandle of Texas, it appears

that blacks—because of either laws or customs—would have been refused service essentially everywhere outside of the established black neighborhoods.

The residential demographics changed abruptly once African American travelers moved west of Texas. But were black travelers treated differently? In New Mexico, hostelries advertising to African Americans were listed in Tucumcari, Santa Rosa, and Albuquerque. West from there, black motorists who had previously traveled along the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway trusted that they could rely on meals and a warm bed at the various Fred Harvey Houses in New Mexico, Arizona, and California. The Harvey Houses in these states, they knew, did not discriminate against blacks or other minorities by denying service, and they also refused to maintain “separate but equal” dining facilities.⁶³

Other than the Harvey Houses, however, early black travelers had few if any lodging options between Albuquerque and Los Angeles. Before 1949 none of the black travel guides listed hostelries anywhere along the eight hundred miles of road between Albuquerque and Los Angeles. But by the mid-1950s guidebooks advertised hotels and restaurants catering to African Americans in Gallup, New Mexico; Holbrook, Flagstaff, and Kingman, Arizona; Needles and Barstow, California (see table 2).

Outside guidebook destinations, the Southwest could be unwelcoming. A black resident who lived in Tucumcari during the 1950s noted that a typical black family driving through town “might not have been able to stay” in one of the white-owned motels on the main boulevard.⁶⁴ In 1955 an NAACP official published the results of a survey in a local Albuquerque newspaper showing that less than 6 percent of the Central Avenue motels and tourist courts welcomed African American travelers and that the city’s larger motels were “consistent in their refusal to accommodate Negroes.”⁶⁵ According to one longtime black Albuquerque resident, most blacks attempting to stay at a typical Central Avenue motel would have been refused service, while another longtime resident said travelers “could never tell what the reaction might be.”⁶⁶ Racial tolerance might have improved in Gallup, New Mexico, a town near the Arizona border that included Native Americans, blacks, and Asians as well as whites, but specific evidence is lacking. In Arizona the previously noted historical patterns of discrimination in both Winslow and Flagstaff suggest that black travelers would have found a chilly reception in those towns. And in Kingman, where almost no blacks lived during the 1950s and 1960s, a sign on the town’s outskirts reportedly warned blacks to leave before sundown.⁶⁷

In July 1964, Pres. Lyndon B. Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act into law. One of its most significant provisions was Title II, which outlawed discrimination based on race, color, religion, or national origin in hotels, motels, restaurants, theaters, and all other public accommodations engaged in interstate commerce.⁶⁸ The

Table 2. ROUTE 66 BUSINESSES CATERING TO BLACK TRAVELERS, 1930-1963

State/City	Black population		Hotels/ motels	Tourist homes	Eating places
	1930	1950			
Illinois					
Joliet	1,309	1,950	—	1	—
Bloomington	804	788	—	1	—
Springfield	3,324	4,285	3	18	2
East St. Louis	11,536	27,555	3	5	12
Missouri					
St. Louis	93,580	153,766	20	4	26
St. Clair	1	None	1	—	—
Lebanon	165	131	—	4	—
Springfield	1,779	1,854	1	9	2
Carthage	298	232	—	3	—
Joplin	755	793	1	5	—
Oklahoma					
Tulsa	15,208	17,126	13	8	15
Sapulpa	1,039	1,379	1	—	—
Oklahoma City	14,662	21,006	12	9	8
Texas					
Amarillo	1,600	3,592	5	—	9
New Mexico					
Tucumcari	8	70	3	3	—
Santa Rosa	1	3	1	—	—
Santa Fe	85	133	1	—	—
Albuquerque	441	1,223	5	4	4
Gallup	118	196	3	3	—
Arizona					
Holbrook	2	52	2	—	—
Winslow	65	216	1	2	—
Flagstaff	100	667	5	1	1
Williams	9	2	1	—	—
Ash Fork	1	No data	1	—	—
Seligman	None	No data	1	—	—
Peach Springs	None	No data	1	—	—
Kingman	None	1	4	—	1
California					
Needles	127	143	2	—	—
Barstow	10	170	1	—	1

(continues to next page)

Table 2 ROUTE 66 BUSINESSES CATERING TO BLACK TRAVELERS, 1930–1963 (CONTINUED)

State/City	Black population		Hotels/ motels	Tourist homes	Eating places
	1930	1950			
San Bernardino	518	1,931	—	3	2
Duarte	No data	No data	1	—	—
Pasadena	3,015	7,868	—	1	1
Los Angeles	38,894	171,209	49	11	39
Hollywood (part of L.A.)			12	1	1
Watts (part of L.A.)			4	1	2
Santa Monica	740	3,230	2	—	1
Total			160	95	126

Source: Victor H. Green, *Green Book*, 1938–1963/64 (*Negro Motorist Green Book*, 1938–1952; *Negro Travelers' Green Book*, 1953–1959; and *Travelers' Green Book*, 1960–1963/64); Edwin Henry Hackley, *Hackley and Harrison's Hotel and Apartment Guide for Colored Travelers*, 1930 edition; *Grayson's Travel and Business Guide*, 1949 edition; and the *Travelguide*, 1949 and 1952 editions.

act targeted discrimination in the South, and many southern motels and restaurants refused to obey Title II until the Supreme Court upheld its constitutionality.⁶⁹ Outside the South, motels and restaurants that had previously served an exclusively white clientele responded to the legislation—perhaps reluctantly—by opening their doors to blacks and other races. Black motorists, in turn, quickly began patronizing mainstream hostelrys, and as a consequence, many of the businesses that had long depended on black travelers began to shut down.

Long after motels, restaurants, and other public accommodations were integrated because of federal intervention, historians, preservationists, and black leaders began recognizing that select businesses had fulfilled a key role by providing safety, comfort, and dignity to early black travelers. As a result, attempts are being made to identify, inventory, and evaluate the condition of these motels, tourist homes, restaurants, and similar facilities. Several print articles and online blog entries have utilized travel guide entries—particularly those from the *Green Book*—to survey, inventory, and publicize these facilities in specific communities.⁷⁰

Along the Route 66 corridor, National Park Service (NPS) personnel have cooperated with various partners on a joint identification and evaluation project for properties along the former highway's right-of-way. A survey of various *Green Book* issues and other travel guides that catered to the black traveler has yielded some 360 properties along Route 66 between Chicago's outskirts and the Santa Monica beachfront (see table 3). Although the investigation of these properties is by no means complete, the results thus far suggest that more than two hundred structures that formerly housed those businesses have been demolished. This state of affairs is perhaps not surprising. During the 1950s and 1960s, many of the businesses in traditional central-city black neighborhoods were sacrificed in the name of urban renewal or demolished because of freeway construction. Many of the motels in the suburban periphery, moreover, fell by the wayside, unable to compete with similar businesses that catered to the white trade because they were more likely to have a smaller number of rooms (or serving tables), an aging physical plant, and a relatively small advertising budget.

Despite the many threats to these businesses, at least eighty-six of the original buildings still stand today. Predictably, some of these establishments are now in such poor condition or have been subject to such extensive architectural modifications that their mid-twentieth-century appearance and configuration are scarcely recognizable. Many others still retain the architectural flavor that defined these businesses during Route 66's period of significance (1926–1970). Route 66 in California, for example, boasts the well-known Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway station (built in 1918) in San Bernardino, a building that was once home to a Harvey House and now serves both Metrolink commuter-train passengers

and long-distance Amtrak riders.⁷¹ Seventy miles to the north, in Barstow, is the equally remarkable Casa del Desierto (built in 1913), a former Harvey House that has also been recently refurbished and serves as an Amtrak facility.⁷²

More buildings from the Route 66 days remain in Arizona. In Kingman the White Rock Court (built in 1930) remains standing; it is neglected but structurally sound.⁷³ Flagstaff's Nackard Inn served black travelers during the mid-1950s. Today, this hidden gem dating to the 1930s sits just across the Burlington Northern Santa Fe tracks from the railroad depot, and nearby is DuBeau's Motel Inn. Travelers to Winslow can still visit the splendid and recently renovated La Posada Hotel, which once held a Harvey House. And in Holbrook, the El Rancho Motel and Restaurant, which advertised to black travelers in a guidebook from 1952, still serves the public, much as it has for more than sixty years. Upcoming research by the NPS and its partners will provide similar examples along the route in Texas, Oklahoma, Missouri, and Illinois.

New Mexico serves as a case study for the legacy of known businesses along Route 66 that advertised to travelers between the mid-1920s and the early 1960s. During this period, most blacks along the route lived in one of three communities. Tucumcari counted just eight black residents in 1930 and seventy residents in 1950. Albuquerque had 441 black residents in 1930, a number that increased to 1,223 in 1950. The number of black residents in Gallup grew from 118 in 1930 to 196 in 1950. No other Route 66 community in the state had more than three black residents during either of the censuses noted above.

During the mid-twentieth century, twenty-five known New Mexico businesses catered to black patrons (see table 3). In Tucumcari Mitchell's Rooms and the Rocket Inn—both north of the railroad tracks—advertised in the early guidebooks. By the early 1950s, Gaynell Avenue (now Tucumcari Boulevard) featured the La Plaza Court, which advertised to black travelers. Shortly afterward two black entrepreneurs—Nolan Jones and his partner Bob Richards—opened the Amigo Motel and Café at the east end of the motel strip. The nearby village of Santa Rosa historically had few black residents; even so, the Will Rogers Motel, on the south side of Route 66, advertised to black travelers.

Albuquerque offered a fairly broad range of accommodations to blacks over the years. During the 1920s, the Alvarado Hotel—with its Harvey House—may have been the only hostelry in town that welcomed black travelers.⁷⁴ By the late 1940s, the black traveler could choose from two tourist homes, a hotel, a motel, and three restaurants. And by the early 1960s, two more motels, both located on west Central Avenue, had announced their interest in attracting a black clientele. In Gallup, directories from the late 1940s list two tourist homes and two downtown hotels that welcomed black travelers, and by the mid-1950s the Casa Linda Motel was in operation along Route 66 at the east end of town.

Table 3. Route 66 business catering to black travelers, 1930-1963

State/City	Total properties	Standing, good cond.	Standing, poor cond.	Not sure of status	Demolished	Not sure of location
Illinois						
Joliet/Bloomington	2	—	—	—	1	1
Springfield	25	4	1	3	17	—
East St. Louis	26	1	1	6	17	1
Missouri						
St. Louis	46	6	1	10	26	3
St. Clair/Lebanon	5	—	—	—	1	4
Springfield	12	—	—	—	8	4
Carthage	3	—	—	—	—	3
Joplin	6	2	—	—	4	—
Oklahoma						
Tulsa	36	5	—	1	27	3
Sapulpa	1	—	—	—	1	—
Oklahoma City	30	3	2	5	20	—
Texas						
Amarillo	13	—	2	1	9	1
New Mexico						
Tucumcari	5	2	1	1	—	1
Santa Rosa	1	—	1	—	—	—
Albuquerque	14	1	—	1	10	2
Gallup	5	1	—	1	3	—
Arizona						
Holbrook	2	1	1	—	—	—
Winslow	1	1	—	—	—	—
Flagstaff	7	3	2	—	2	—
Wms/AshFk/Sel.	3	1	—	—	2	—
Peach Springs	1	—	—	—	1	—
Kingman	5	—	2	—	2	1
California						
Needles	2	1	—	—	1	—
Barstow	2	1	—	—	1	—
Victorville	2	—	—	—	2	—
San Bernardino	5	2	1	—	2	—
Duarte/Pasadena	7	1	—	—	5	1
Los Angeles	86	24	7	12	40	3
Hollywood	4	2	—	1	1	—

(continues to next page)

Table 3. Route 66 business catering to black travelers, 1930-1963 (CONTINUED)

State/City	Total properties	Standing, good cond.	Standing, poor cond.	Not sure of status	Demolished	Not sure of location
Santa Monica	3	2	—	—	1	—
Totals	360	64	22	42	204	28

Source: Victor H. Green, Green Book, 1938–1963/64 (*Negro Motorist Green Book*, 1938–1952; *Negro Travelers' Green Book*, 1953–1959; and *Travelers' Green Book*, 1960–1963/64); Edwin Henry Hackley, *Hackley and Harrison's Hotel and Apartment Guide for Colored Travelers*, 1930 edition; *Grayson's Travel and Business Guide*, 1949 edition; and *Travelguide*, 1949 and 1952 editions.

Out of the twenty-five businesses that advertised to black travelers before 1964, just six still stand today. In Tucumcari, Mitchell's Rooms and the Rocket Inn, both of which are residential structures, remain; as does the La Plaza Court, although it has been substantially remodeled in recent years. In Santa Rosa, the Will Rogers Motel is still in business, though it is now owned by a nationwide hotel chain. In Albuquerque, the iconic De Anza Motel on Central Avenue still stands, and in Gallup, a two-story business building once known as the New Commercial Hotel remains near the railroad station, as does a remodeled rooming house. These "safe havens," along with similar facilities in other Route 66 states, are survivors of a period in which discrimination in public accommodations was widely practiced, whether or not it was illegal. Buildings such as these need to be recognized for their valuable role in providing a modicum of comfort to black and other nonwhite highway travelers who journeyed along Route 66 between 1926 and the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The states through which Route 66 passed presented a complex racial geography. Illinois, Missouri, Oklahoma, and Texas each had a majority white population with a strong black minority, and although Illinois, historically, was a northern state while the other states were more southern, black residents—and black travelers—were treated much the same in all four states. Although some racial progress had occurred in larger cities within these four states by the 1950s and early 1960s, racial segregation was institutionalized either by law or custom throughout the area, and black travelers hoping to find places to stay or eat were largely if not exclusively confined to black neighborhoods. They endured similar conditions in Southern California as well. In New Mexico and Arizona, the racial geography was more complex, and blacks in both states were ranked fourth demographically behind whites, Hispanics, and Native Americans. In these states, the relatively small number of blacks, and the preponderance of small towns, meant that blacks gained some level of equality in certain towns and in certain situations. On the whole, however, blacks in the Southwest during the mid-twentieth century were all too often treated as second-class citizens, and in many Route 66 towns whites treated blacks no differently than Hispanics or Native Americans. Given this racial atmosphere, black travelers may have encountered less discrimination along Route 66 if they utilized the *Negro Motorist Green Book* or a similar guidebook. Those without guidebooks fell back on a number of seasoned strategies that were often highly advantageous in specific circumstances. Because few first-person accounts have surfaced about black travelers along Route 66 and other western highways, more research is needed to provide key details about this heretofore neglected topic.

More than 350 of the hostelries and restaurants along Route 66 that advertised to the black traveling public during this period appear in one or more of the various guidebook listings. Of the 350-plus properties that comprise the

following inventory, only about 85 are still standing today, including just 6 out of 25 in New Mexico. This inventory represents a substantial contribution to an important, if uncomfortable, part of our historical and architectural legacy. As such, it is appropriate that these properties be identified, photographed, and subject to further research.

Appendix. African American Motorists' Directory of Hostelries and Restaurants on Route 66

Sources: Victor H. Green, *Green Book*, 1938–1963/64 (*Negro Motorist Green Book*, 1938–1952; *Negro Travelers' Green Book*, 1953–1959; and *Travelers' Green Book*, 1960–1963/64); Edwin Henry Hackley, *Hackley and Harrison's Hotel and Apartment Guide for Colored Travelers*, 1930 edition; *Grayson's Travel and Business Guide*, 1949 edition; and the *Travelguide*, 1949 and 1952 editions. Information about Harvey Houses derives from additional sources.

Illinois:

Joliet (Will Co.)

YMCA (Southside Branch)	no address	1952
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Bloomington (McLean Co.)

Mrs. Fred Rush (guests)	309 S. East St.	1949
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Springfield (Sangamon Co.)

Accommodations

Mrs. G. Bell Tourist Home (Georgia Bell)	625 N. 2nd St.	1930–1963
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Mrs. E. Brooks Tourist Home (Elizabeth Brooks)	705 N. 2nd St.	1930–1956
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Mrs. Elizabeth Cohier (rooms and meals)	1125 E. Washington St.	1930
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Dudley Hotel/Tourist Rest/ Tourist Home (see Homestead Hotel)	130 S. 11th St. (corner of Adams St.)	1938–1959
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Madell Dudley Tourist Home	1211 E. Adams St.	1953–1956
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Mrs. Bernie Eskridge Tourist Home	1501 Jackson St.	1952–1963
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Hotel Ferguson (Mrs. Gertrude Ferguson)	1007 E. Washington St.	1949
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Mrs. Mary Holman (rooms and meals)	1208 S. 14th St.	1930
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Homestead Hotel (see Dudley Hotel)	130 S. 11th St.	1930
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Mrs. Julia F. Johnson (rooms and meals)	1144 N. 7th St.	1930
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Mrs. L. Jones Tourist Home (Lena Jones)	1230 E. Jefferson St.	1952–1963
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Mrs. B. Mosby Tourist Home (Bessie Mosby)	1614 E. Jackson St.	1930–1963
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Mrs. Rufus Nelson (rooms and meals)	742 N. 2nd St.	1930
Mrs. Helen Robbins (rooms and meals)	1616 E. Jackson St.	1930–1948
Mrs. Jessie Rogers (rooms and meals) (see Southern Kitchen)	1004 E. Washington St.	1930–1939
Mrs. M. Rollins Tourist Home	844 S. College St.	1941–1958
Mrs. Mary Rollins (rooms and meals)	1127 E. Mason St.	1930–1940
Mrs. Mary E. Rollins (rooms and meals)	1123 E. Adams St.	1930–1940
Mrs. Lula Stuart (“Lulu Stewart”) Tourist Home	1615 E. Jefferson St.	1949, 1952–1960
Mrs. Nellie Tate (rooms and meals)	400 W. Chenery St.	1930–1939
Dr. Ware Tourist Home (S. A. Ware)	1520 E. Washington St.	1930–1963
Hotel Williams	124 S. 11th St.	1930
<i>Dining Establishments</i>		
Cansler’s Lounge (tavern, then restaurant)	807 E. Washington St.	1952–1961
Southern Kitchen (see Mrs. Jessie Rogers)	1004 E. Washington St.	1949
East St. Louis (St. Clair Co.)		
<i>Accommodations</i>		
Fox Hole Tourist Home and Night Club (Ida and Curtis Thurman)	300 Pocket Rd.	1959
Hotel Harlem	1426 Broadway	1959–1963
Mid-town Tourist Home	2738 Bond Ave.	1959–1961
Wm. E. Officer Tourist Home (rooms and meals)	2200 [2114?] Missouri Ave.	1930–1958
P. B. Reeves Tourist Home (rooms)	1803 Bond Ave.	1930–1958
Royal Hotel	1900 Missouri Ave. 2005 Missouri Ave.	1930–1939 1940–1941
Hotel Thigpin	1425 E. Broadway	1947–1958
Irene Yancy (rooms and meals)	1914 Bond Ave. 1737½ Market St.	1930–1940 1941
<i>Dining Establishments</i>		
Bond Food Shop (restaurant)	628 Bond St.	1959–1963
Bush’s Rib Station	1836 Missouri Ave.	1959–1963
Cornelia’s Lunch Room	214 E. Broadway	1959–1962
Del-Rio Restaurant	1504 Broadway	1947
Jackson’s (Drive-In) Barbecue	10th and Broadway	1959–1962
Magnet Restaurant	306 Broadway 303 E. Broadway	1947–1948 1949–1951

Nichol's Drive Inn (J. W. Nichols)	900 Missouri Ave.	1960–1963
Rock Grill	1433 Brady	1959–1963
J. F. Sugg's Restaurant	4305 Trendley Ave.	1947–1951
Thunderbird Café (Vera L. West)	301 S. 10th St.	1959
Ultra-Modern Restaurant	114 S. 15th St.	1947
Whiteway Restaurant	4246 Market Ave.	1947

Missouri:

St. Louis (St. Louis Co.)

Accommodations

Adams Hotel	4295 Olive St.	1953–1957
called Abernathy's Adams Hotel		1960–1963
Alcorn Hotel	4165 Washington Ave.	1951–1963
Antler Hotel	3502 Franklin Ave.	1947–1956
Atlas Hotel	4260 Delmar Blvd.	1948–1951
	4267 Delmar Blvd.	1952–1963
Broadway Hotel	3866 Delmar Blvd.	1949
Calumet Hotel (see Palmer Hotel)	611 N. Jefferson Ave.	1947–1960
Corona Hotel	2840 Olive St.	1947–1950
	720 Clark Ave.	1951
Hotel DeLuxe	744 Walton Ave.	1949
	at Enright	
Dunbar Hotel	2005 Market St.	1930–1939
Dubois Hotel	4323 Enright Ave.	1930
Eugene Hotel	3316 Lucas Ave.	1949
Excelsior Springs Hotel	302 Main St.	1950
Grand Central Hotel	Jefferson Ave. and Pine	1930–1960
Harlem Hotel	3438 Franklin Ave.	1947–1960
(see Harlem Grill/Restaurant)		
Leader Hotel	118 Pleasant St.	1949–1950
Mrs. Ira Love (guests)	4334 Ashland Ave.	1949
Midtown Hotel	2935 Lawton Blvd./Ave.	1948–1957
New Albany Hotel	4873 Page Blvd.	1952
Palmer Hotel (see Calumet Hotel)	611 N. Jefferson Ave.	1930
Poro College Hotel	4300 St. Ferdinand	1930–1941
	at Pendleton	
called Poro Hotel		1947–1963
Mrs. Mary E. Smith (guests)	4573 Newberry Terrace	1949

Booker T. Washington Hotel (and Courts)	209 N. Jefferson at Pine 3930 N. Kings Highway	1939–1962 1963
West End Hotel	3900 W. Belle St. at Vandeventer Ave.	1930–1963
YMCA	2846 Pine St. at Ewing	1930–1941
YWCA Tourist Home	2709 Locust St.	1954–1957
<i>Dining Establishments</i>		
Bell's Restaurant	933 Pendleton Ave. 4318 Delmar Blvd 3867 Delmar Ave.	1949–1951 1952–1953 1954–1956
Bob's Café	2816 Easton Ave.	1947–1952
Chicken Shack Café	914 N. Sara St.	1949
De Luxe Restaurant	10 N. Jefferson Ave.	1947–1960
Ding-Ling End	613 N. Jefferson St. 731 Leland Ave. 7915 Shaftsbury Ave.	1949 1950–1953 1954
Gordon's Rib Station	4269 Delmar	1959–1963
Harlem Grill and Restaurant (see Harlem Hotel)	3438 Franklin Ave.	1950–1957
Highway (restaurant)	1239 N. 20th St.	1947–1950
Hunter's Restaurant	2610 Delmar	1949–1957
Lindsey's Restaurant	3805 Page Blvd.	1947–1952
Lucille's Food Shop (restaurant)	4401 Aldine St.	1959–1963
Nick's Snack House	1109 Sarah St.	1950–1962
Northside Restaurant called Northside Grill	2422 N. Pendleton Ave.	1947–1959 1960–1963
Oak Leaf	4269 W. Easton Ave.	1940–1949
Poccard's Restaurant	1112 N. Sarah St.	1949
Roma Restaurant	3839 Finney Ave.	1949–1957
Sara-Lou Café	4069 St. Louis Ave. at Sarah St.	1959–1963
Seashore Restaurant	2829 Easton Ave.	1947–1949
Shrimp Hut	Sarah St. at Labadie	1959–1960
Simon (restaurant)	Jefferson Ave. at Fallon St.	1949
Sky Lark	1102 Independence	1950
Snack Shop	1105 N. Taylor	1947–1954
Society (restaurant)	900 N. Taylor Ave. 7919 N. Broadway	1947–1949 1950–1951

Union Station (railroad terminal)	1820 Market	1952
West End (restaurant)	929 N. Vandeventer Ave.	1949
Wilke's Restaurant	1804 N. Taylor Ave.	1947-1961
	4664 Fairlin Ave.	1962-1963
called Wilke's Eat Shop		1959-1963
St. Clair (Franklin Co.)		
Mrs. L. Hilliard Motel	U.S. Highway 66 (north of S. Outer Rd. south of Marcus Dr.)	1961-1963
Lebanon (Laclede Co.)		
Mrs. Julia Osborne (rooms and meals)	Route 3, Route 5 (north end)	1930-1940 1941-1952
Mrs. Eliza Turner (rooms and meals)	Route 3	1930-1952
Mrs. Missouri Warfield (rooms)	Route 3	1930-1941
Mrs. Ann (Ana) Wilson (rooms)	Route 3	1930-1952
Springfield (Greene Co.)		
Alberta's Hotel (and Snack Bar) (Alberta Northcutt)	617 N. Benton Ave.	1954-1963
Allen's Rooms	638 N. Jefferson	1940-1941
Mrs. George Barnett (guest house)	1015 Sherman Ave. 1035 Sherman Ave.	1949 1952
The Carterette Apartment (rooms)	234½ Dollison Ave.	1930
Mrs. U. G. Hardrick (rooms)	238 Dollison Ave.	1930
U. G. Hardrick Tourist Home		1939-1950
John Haywood (rooms)	734 Washington St.	1930
Mrs. Maggie Herron (guest house)	420 E. Pine	1949
Mrs. Mary Smith (rooms and meals)	711 Washington St.	1930
Mrs. Walter Smith (rooms)	717 Washington St.	1930
Mrs. R.J. Stephenson (guests)	715 Washington St.	1949
Rockfront Inn	540 Benton Ave.	1950-1952
Sylvia's Restaurant	616 Washington St.	1958-1961
Carthage (Jasper Co.)		
Mrs. Alice Peal (rooms and meals)	E. 3rd St.	1930-1941
Mrs. Albert Gibson (rooms and meals)	Bois De Arc at 5th St.	1930-1941
Mrs. Melvina Webb Tourist Home	S. Fulton St.	1930-1949
Joplin (Jasper Co.)		
Mrs. Grace Davis Tourist Home	113 Virginia Ave.	1955-1961

Mrs. F. Echols	901 Missouri Ave.	1941–1956
John Lindsay Tourist Home	1702 Pennsylvania Ave.	1930–1947
Mrs. J. Lindsay		1948–1956
Mrs. Theo Siebert (rooms and meals)	1412 Furnace St.	1930
Mrs. A. G. Tutt (rooms and meals)	812 West A St.	1930–1941
Williams Hotel/Tourist Home	308 Pennsylvania Ave.	1930–1956

Kansas:

none

Oklahoma:

Tulsa (Tulsa Co.)

Avalon Motel	2411-13 E. Apache St.	1954–1963
Mrs. R. C. Baughman (rooms)	320 N. Greenwood	1930–1939
Del Rio Hotel	607½ N. Greenwood	1950–1963
Gray's Rooms for Transients (Marie Gray)	32 N. Greenwood	1949
Mrs. Thomas Gentry Tourist Home	537 N. Detroit Ave.	1930–1948
Lafayette Hotel	604 E. Archer St.	1949–1959
Lincoln Hotel	E. Archer St.	1939–1948
Lincoln Lodge	1407½ E. 15th St.	1941
Manard Hotel	922 E. "Mashill" [Haskell?] Pl.	1939–1941
McHunt Hotel	1121 N. Greenwood	1939–1963
Miller Hotel	124 N. Hartford St.	1950–1963
Mrs. C. L. Netherland (rooms) called C.U. Netherland Tourist Home	542 N. Elgin St.	1930–1940 1941–1963
Red Wing Hotel	206 N. Greenwood	1939–1949
Royal Hotel	605 E. Archer	1939–1949
Small Hotel (W. H. Small)	615 E. Archer St.	1930–1963
Mrs. W. H. Smith (rooms) called W. H. Smith Tourist Home	124½ N. Greenwood	1930 1939–1963
Warren Hotel (see Warren Inn)	105 N. Greenwood	1941–1949
Williams Hotel	124 E. Archer St.	1930
	606 1/2 E. Archer St.	1949
YMCA	621 E. Oklahoma Pl.	1949
YMCA (W. L. Hutcherson Branch)	331 N. Greenwood	1952

YWCA	123 E. Archer St.	1930
	621 E. Oklahoma Pl.	1941–1953
	120 E. Pine	1954–1963
<i>Dining Establishments</i>		
Art's Chili Parlor (Art Hogan)	110 N. Greenwood	1949–1961
Barbeque Restaurant	1111 N. Greenwood	1939–1948
Chicken Shack	316 N. Elgin St.	1950–1954
Del Rio Bar	1448 N. Greenwood	1939
The “1170” Café (Ethel Baylor)	1716 N. Peoria St.	1949
Grayson's Tavern (fine food)	1004 N. Greenwood	1949
Lewis Lunch Room (Mrs. Hattie Lewis)	Cameron at Greenwood St.	1949
Meharry Drug Co.	101 N. Greenwood	1939–1947
(fountain service, L. R. Rollerson)	126 N. Greenwood	1949
Plez's Chile Parlor	127 Greenwood Ave.	1939
Spinner Café	611 E. Archer Ave.	1949
Tan's Place	1444 N. Lansing	1949
(restaurant, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Love)		
The Upstairs Dining Room	119 1/2 N. Greenwood	1950–1961
Vaughn Drug Store	301 E. 2nd St.	1939
Warren Inn (restaurant)	Archer Ave. at Greenwood Ave.	1949
(see Warren Hotel)		
Your Cab (restaurant)	517 E. Brady St.	1939–1949
Sapulpa (Creek Co.)		
Brooklyn Hotel	511 E. Hobson Ave.	1949–1963
Oklahoma City (Oklahoma Co.)		
Mrs. Lessie Bennett Tourist Home	500 N.E. 4th St.	1953–1963
Bethel Rooms	326½ E. 2nd St.	1930–1940
Canton Hotel (and Coffee Shop)	200 N.E. 2nd St.	1949–1963
(Canton E. Williams) (see Wilson's Hotel)		
Cortland Rooms Tourist Home	629 N.E. 4th St.	1941–1960
(see Magnolia Inn)		
Hall Hotel (café in connection)	308½ N. Central	1930–1963
La Rel [Laurel?] Hotel and Coffee Shop	501 N.E. 8th St.	1956–1957
Littlepage (Little Page) Hotel	219 N. Central at 2nd St.	1939–1961
(see M. & M. Hotel)		
Luster's Modern Motel	3402 N.E. 23rd St.	1959–1961
M. & M. Hotel (see Littlepage Hotel)	219 N. Central	1930–1947

New Acacia Hotel (see William Rooms)	323 E. 2nd St.	1939–1941
Parker Hotel	1st St. at Stiles	1939–1941
Scrugg's Tourist Home	420 N. Laird St.	1947–1957
Terminal Hotel and Blue Front Café	9 W. California (½ block from Union Station)	1949
Tucker's Tourist Home	315 1/2 N.E. 2nd St.	1947–1963
Wayside Motel	2028 N. Bryant	1957–1963
William Rooms (see New Acacia Hotel)	323 E. 2nd St.	1930–1940
Wilson's Hotel (see Canton Hotel)	200 N.E. 2nd St.	1947
YMCA (community branch)	300 N. Stiles	1952
YMCA	614 N.E. 4th St.	1954–1963
Hotel Youngblood	N. Stiles Ave. (now N. Russell M. Perry Ave.) at 4th St.	1957–1963
YWCA	430 N.E. 2nd St.	1952
<i>Dining Establishments</i>		
Eastside Food Shop (restaurant)	904 N.E. 2nd St.	1947–1955
King's Restaurant	905 N.E. 4th St.	1948–1953
Lyons Café	304 E. 2nd St.	1940–1948
Magnolia Inn (see Cortland Rooms)	629 N.E. 4th St.	1930–1950
Parker's Good Eats	305 N. Stiles	1949
Ruby Restaurant	322 1/2 N.E. 2nd St.	1947–1952
Scales' Café (Mrs. G. L. Scales)	322-A N.E. 2nd St.	1947
	332 E. 2nd St.	1949
Off-Beat Restaurant	2028 N. Bryant	1958–1961

Texas:

Amarillo (Potter Co.)

Accommodations

Martin Hotel	204 Van Buren St.	1949
Mayfair Hotel	119 Van Buren St.	1947–1950
Tennessee Hotel (William Warr),	206–208 Van Buren St.	1948–1963
Watley (Watley's) Hotel	112 Van Buren St.	1940–1963
Watley House	1205 N. Hughes St.	1948

Dining Establishments

Blue Bonnet Café	400 W. Third St.	1948–1949
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Corner Drug Store (fountain service, Mrs. Etta Gray)	118 Harrison St.	1949
G & M Drug Co. (regular meals and fountain service)	204 Harrison St.	1949
Harlem Grill called New Harlem (restaurant or grill)	114 Harrison St.	1940–1941 1948–1954
Knighton's Café	422 W. 3rd St.	1949
Murphy Crain Restaurant	400 W. 3rd St.	1947
Tom's Place (restaurant)	322 W. 3rd St.	1948–1963
Williams Inn	113 Van Buren St.	1948–1953
Working Man's Club (road house)	202 Harrison St.	1947–1955

New Mexico:

Tucumcari (Quay Co.)		
Amigo Motel & Café (Nolan Jones and Bob Richards)	1823 E. Gaynell (Tucumcari Blvd.)	1956–1963
Cactus Motel	U.S. Highway 66, "½ mile east" (now at 1316 E. Tucumcari Blvd.)	1953
Jones' Rooms	"Box 1002" (possibly at 524 W. Campbell)	1948–1963
La Plaza Court (Mrs. E. J. Freymuth)	(now at 1023 E. Tucumcari Blvd.)	1952
Mitchell's Rooms Tourist Home (J. E. Mitchell)	406 North 3rd St.	1953–1961
Rockett Inn Tourist Home (Mrs. N. W. Jones)	524 W. Campbell (now Quay Rd. 64)	1947–1963
Santa Rosa (Guadalupe Co.)		
Will Rogers Court	924 Will Rogers Dr.	1957–1963
Santa Fe (Santa Fe Co., pre-1937 route)		
El Rey Court (Wayne Bowles)	1862 Cerrillos Rd.	1957–1963
Albuquerque (Bernalillo Co.)		
Hotel Alvarado / Fred Harvey House Restaurant (at railroad station)	110 S. 1st St.	1902–1968
Mrs. W. Bailey Tourist Home (Madora Bailey)	1127 N. 2nd St.	1947–1963

Bob's Apartment Hotel/Tourist Home (Robert Lewis)	1107 12th St., N.W.	1955–1956
Cactus Motel	5930 Central Ave. S.W.	1959–1963
De Anza Motor Lodge	4301 E. Central Ave.	1949
Dutch Motel	5401 Central Ave. N.W.	1958–1961
Mrs. Kate (Katherine) Duncan	423 N. Arno St.	1948–1962
Tourist Home	331 53rd St. N.W.	1963
Ideal Hotel (E. Rusk and W. J. Rusk)	310 E. Marquette	1948–1950
South Side Barber Shop and Rooms	1001 S. 2nd St.	1952
Aunt Brenda's Pit Barbecue	406 N. Arno St.	1949–1962
	331 53rd St. N.W.	1963
Bon Ton (restaurant)	115 N. 1st St.	1947–1949
Greyhound Inter-State Restaurant	6th and Copper	1949
Fred Harvey Airport Restaurant	at Municipal Airport	1952
Gallup (McKinley Co.)		
Casa Linda Motel	on U. S. 66 at southeast corner of Boardman St.	1956–1958
El Navajo Hotel / Fred Harvey House Restaurant (at railroad station)	1st St. at Hwy. 66	1923–1957
Mrs. Nellie Lewis (guests) (see L.P. Partee Tourist Home)	109 W. Wilson St.	1949
called Mrs. Sonnie Lewis Tourist Home		1950–1961
New Commercial Hotel	204 W. 66th Ave.	1949
Mrs. Eula Norton (guests)	216 W. Wilson Ave.	1949
Mrs. L. P. Partee Tourist Home (see Mrs. Nellie Lewis)	109 W. Wilson Ave.	1939
Arizona:		
Holbrook (Navajo Co.)		
El Moderno Motel (Frances Bradley)	301 W. Hopi Dr.	1952
El Rancho Motel (N. L. Johnson)	867 Navajo Blvd.	1952
Winslow (Navajo Co.)		
La Posada Hotel / Fred Harvey House Restaurant	303 E. 2nd St. (near railroad station)	1930–1957
Flagstaff (Coconino Co.)		
Du Beau's Motel Inn	Phoenix at Beaver	1952

El Rancho Flagstaff (Glen Van Deusen)	northwest corner of Route 66 at Milton Ave.	1952–1963
Nackard Inn	15 S. San Francisco	1957–1959
Park Plaza Motel	east side of Milton Ave. at Route 66	1957–1963
Pearl Polk (guests)	211 S. San Francisco	1952
Vandevier Lodge and Dining Room (Arthur Vandevier), Yucca Greyhound Café	402 W. Santa Fe Ave. 122 E. Santa Fe Ave.	1952 1949
Williams (Coconino Co.) Fray Marcos (de Niza) Hotel / Fred Harvey House Restaurant	N. Grand Canyon Blvd. at Fray Marcos Dr.	1907–1950s
Ash Fork (Yavapai Co.) Escalante Hotel / Fred Harvey House Restaurant	Lewis Ave. at 5th St.	1907–1948
Seligman (Yavapai Co.) Havasu Santa Fe Hotel / Fred Harvey House Restaurant	west side of Main St. at Railroad Ave.	1905–1954
Peach Springs (Mohave Co.) Qumacho Inn (Guy Rutherford)	south side of Route 66 east of Hualapai Cultural Center	1952
Kingman (Mohave Co.) Bell's Motel (Mr. and Mrs. E. Bell)	south side of Andy Devine Ave. near Johnson Ave.	1952
Loma Vista Motel (Mrs. Jay Leon)	1001 W. Beale	1952
Mountain Villa Motel	Route 66 East	1957–1963
Santa Fe Eating House (Fred Harvey House Restaurant)	northwest side of Route 66 at 4th St.	1901–1938
White Rock Motel/Auto Court	899 Front St. (now 843 E. Andy Devine Ave.)	1954–1963
California:		
Needles (San Bernardino Co.) El Adobe Motel (Ehrma Watkins)	Route 66 at O St.	1950–1963

El Garces Hotel / Fred Harvey House	950 Front St.	1908–1949
Barstow (San Bernardino Co.)		
Casa del Desierto / Fred Harvey House Restaurant	685 N. 1st Ave.	1913–1973
Gold Star Café	111 W. Main St.	1949
Victorville-Apple Valley (San Bernardino Co.)		
Murray's Dude Ranch (Nolie B. and Lela O. Murray)	Waalew Road at Dale Evans Parkway, Apple Valley	1938–1958
Raglan Guest Ranch	Quarry Road at Harris Lane, Victorville	1949–1957
San Bernardino (San Bernardino Co.)		
S. M. Carlton (rooms with meals)	939 W. 6th St.	1930–1948
Fred Harvey House (in railroad depot)	1204 W. 3rd St.	1918–1950s
Mrs. Anneleen Phillips (rooms)	964 6th St.	1930–1941
James Weatherly (rooms with meals)	981 6th St.	1930
Bracewell's Café	339 3rd St.	1949
Duarte (Los Angeles Co.)		
Hi-way "66" Foothill Motel (A. W. Seeds)	2435 E. Huntington Dr.	1952
Pasadena (Los Angeles Co.)		
Hub Restaurant	Orange Grove at Fair Oaks	1947
YWCA	78 N. Marengo Ave.	1949–1952
Los Angeles (Los Angeles Co.)		
<i>Accommodations</i>		
Adams Villa Apts.	900 E. Adams Blvd.	1949
Alexandria Hotel	210 W. 5th St.	1962–1963
Allen Hotel (see Kentucky Hotel)	1123 Central Ave.	1939–1941
Ambassador Hotel	3400 Wilshire Blvd.	1963
Arcade Hotel	542 Ceres	1940–1948
Aster Motel	2901 S. Flower St.	1962–1963
Avon Hotel	405 S. Hewitt	1947–1950
Mrs. J. O. Banks (rooms)	1235 S. New Hamp- shire St.	1930
Bel Air Motel	701 Stone Canyon Rd.	1963
Biltmore Hotel	515 S. Olive at 5th St.	1949, 1960 –1963

Californian Hotel	1907 W. 6th St.	1962–1963
Casbah (Cashbah) Apts.	1189 W. 36th St. (or 36th Pl.)	1953–1963
Clark Hotel (and Annexes) (see Sheridan Hotel)	1816–24 S. Central Ave. at Washington Blvd. 425 S. Hill St.	1939–1960 1962–1963
Colonial Motel	1393 E. 15th St.	1949–1951
Cortez Hotel	375 Columbia Ave.	1962–1963
Cosmopolitan Hotel	South West Lake [Westlake] Ave.	1955–1957
Digby Hotel	501 E. 1st St. at Alameda	1949
Downtown House	117 N. San Pedro St.	1949
Dunbar Hotel	4225 S. Central Ave.	1930–1960
EC Eastsider Motel	2133 S. Central Ave.	1962–1963
EC Motel	3501 S. Western	1962–1963
Elite Hotel	1217 S. Central Ave.	1939–1960
Garrett's New DeLuxe Motel	1122 E. 57th St. at Central Ave.	1949
Glacier Hotel	523 Stanford St.	1947–1952
Mrs. W. D. Grealoiu Tourist Home	1311 W. 35th Pl.	1930–1941
Mrs. S. H. Grier (rooms)	1121 E. 22nd St.	1930–1940
Harmon Motel	700 W. Florence	1962–1963
Hayes Motel	960 E. Jefferson Blvd.	1949–1963
Hide Out Apartments	633 E. Vernon Ave.	1949
Mrs. Bessie Hoffman Tourist Home	760 W. 17th St.	1930–1947
Kentucky Hotel (see Allen Hotel)	1123 Central Ave.	1941–1960
La Dale Hotel	802 E. Jefferson Blvd.	1954–1957
Lanakia/Lanakai Hotel	916 E. 25th St.	1949–1952
Lincoln Hotel	549 Ceres Ave.	1939–1960
Mack's Manor Hotel	1085 W. Jefferson Blvd.	1952–1960
Manchester Motel	800 E. Manchester	1962–1963
Mayfair Hotel	1256 W. 7th St.	1962–1963
McAlpin Hotel	648 Stanford Ave.	1947–1960
Morris Hotel	809 E. 5th St.	1947–1949
Moulin Rouge Motel (see Thomas Hotel)	2050 W. Jefferson Blvd.	1956–1960
New Casa Motel	7720 S. Main St.	1962–1963
Norbo Hotel	529 E. 6th St.	1950–1955
Notel Motel	4766 S. Main St.	1962–1963
Olympic Hotel	843 S. Central Ave.	1941–1960
Palms Wilshire Hotel	626 S. Alvarado St.	1949–1952

Palm-Vue Motel	3922 S. Western Ave. at 39th Pl.	1960–1963
Park Wilshire Apartment Hotel	2424 Wilshire Blvd.	1949–1952
Raywood Motel	8200 S. Figueroa St.	1962–1963
Regal Hotel	815 E. 6th St.	1940–1960
Roberson's Motel	2111 E. Imperial Blvd.	1949–1956
Roberson's Annex	1757 Imperial Highway	1949–1951
Santa Barbara Motel	1758 W. Santa Barbara Ave.	1962–1963
Sheridan Hotel (see Clark Hotel)	1824 Central Ave.	1940–1947
Sky Terrace Motel	Normandie at Jefferson Blvd.	1963
Sojourner Truth Industrial Home (for women) called Sojourner's Hotel	1119 E. Adams St.	1930 1940–1949
Statler Hilton	930 Wilshire Blvd.	1962–1963
Thomas Motel (see Moulin Rouge Motel)	2050 W. Jefferson Blvd.	1953–1956
Mrs. Rose Tizel Tourist Home	2150 S. Hobart Blvd.	1957–1960
Vallee Vista Tourist Home	2408 Cimarron St.	1951–1960
Watkins Hotel	2022 W. Adams Blvd.	1949–1960
Western Motel	3700 S. Western Ave. at 37th St.	1949–1956
Hayes Western Motel		1962–1963
YMCA	1006 E. 28th St.	1930
YWCA	1108 E. 12th St.	1930
<i>Dining Establishments</i>		
Alena's Club House	2615 S. Western Ave.	1949
Arc (restaurant)	4067 S. Central Ave.	1947–1953
Banks Restaurant	4019 S. Avalon Blvd.	1947–1949
B & E Grotto Drive Inn	4275 Avalon Blvd.	1949
B and M Coffee Shop	2645 S. Western Ave.	1949
Blue Room (restaurant)	9900 S. Central Ave.	1947–1948
Bobbie's Restaurant	4001 Avalon Ave.	1947
Bradley's Steak House	1427 W. Jefferson Blvd.	1949
Casa Blanca Restaurant	2801 S. San Pedro	1947–1950
Chief Restaurant	4400 S. Avalon Blvd.	1947–1949
Clark Hotel Blue Room	1822 S. Central Ave.	1949
Clifton's Restaurant	618 S. Olive St.	1947–1960
Clifton's Restaurant (branch location)	648 S. Broadway at 7th St.	1949, 1959 –1960

Digby (restaurant)	1st and Alameda St.	1947–1950
DownBeat Restaurant	1064 E. 42nd St.	1951–1953
Eddie's Restaurant	4201 S. Central Ave.	1947–1955
The Fawn (restaurant)	Western and 29th St.	1947–1950
Gingham Restaurant	111 N. San Pedro	1947–1948
Granville's Steak House	4620 S. Central Ave.	1949
Hide Out Club	629 E. Vernon	1949
Hi-Hat Grill and DeLuxe Fountain	545 E. Jefferson Blvd.	1949
Hi Jenks (restaurant)	4428 Avalon Ave.	1947–1953
Holiday-Café Restaurant	4071 Avalon Ave.	1959–1960
Ivie's Restaurant/Chicken Shack	1105 1/2 E. Vernon Ave.	1947–1960
John's Restaurant	3519 S. Western Ave.	1947–1952
Leonard's Drive Inn	1504 E. Imperial Highway	1949
Marble Inn (restaurant)	1840 Imperial Highway	1940–1949
Nita's Restaurant	125 W. Vernon	1947–1949
Pig N' Pat Restaurant	4200 S. Central Ave.	1947–1949
Preston's Café	3567 S. Western Ave.	1949
Robertson's Restaurant	4815 S. Central Ave.	1947–1950
Shadowland Restaurant	4505 S. Avalon Ave.	1947
Southern Restaurant	5917 S. Normandie	1941
Sweet Dream Sandwich Shoppe (see Waffle Shop)	1063 E. 43rd St.	1949
Union Station	800 N. Alameda	1952
Vina's Fine Foods	3745 S. Western Ave.	1949
Waffle Shop Restaurant (see Sweet Dream)	1063 E. 43rd St.	1947–1957
Woodson's Restaurant	Jefferson and Raymond	1947–1948
Zombie Restaurant	5432 S. Central Ave.	1947–1948
	4216 S. Central Ave.	1949–1959
	4906 S. Wadsworth	1960
Hollywood (in Los Angeles, listed separately)		
Jam. W. Brown Tourist Home	2881 Seattle Dr.	1948–1952
Carlton Lodge	2011 N. Highland Ave.	1963
Hallmark House Motor Hotel	7023 Sunset Blvd.	1963
Hollywood Hotel (see Las Palmas Hotel)	1738 N. Las Palmas	1949
Hollywood Knickerbocker Hotel	1714 Ivar Ave.	1957–1960
Hollywood Plaza	1637 N. Vine	1962–1963
Hollywood Roosevelt	7000 Hollywood Blvd	1962–1963
Hollywood Thunderbird Inn	8300 Sunset Blvd.	1963

Imperial “400” Motel	6826 W. Sunset Blvd.	1963
Las Palmas Hotel (see Hollywood Hotel)	1738 N. Las Palmas	1952
Mark Twain Hotel	1622 Wilcox	1949–1960
Sands-Sunset Hotel	8775 Sunset Blvd.	1963
Wilcox Hotel	6504 Selma Ave.	1949–1952
Hollywood Wilcox Hotel	6500 Selma Ave.	1963
Hollywood Restaurant	1743 N. Cahuenga Blvd.	1952
Watts (in Los Angeles, listed separately)		
J. Hardy Tourist Home	13333 McKinley Ave.	1955–1956
Hill’s Villa Modern Motel	10803 Wilmington Ave.	1949
Johnson’s Motel	11816 S. Wilmington	1949–1954
Marria Hotel	1505 E. 103rd St.	1949
Hotel Reed	1711 1/2 E. 103rd St.	1949
Graham Café	10220 S. Beach St.	1949
Henry Brothers Restaurant	10359 Wilmington Ave.	1947–1957
Reed’s Café	10213 Beach Ave.	1949
Santa Monica (Los Angeles Co.)		
La Bonita Tavern	1807 Belmont Place	1940–1952
Palm Crest Hotel “By the Sea” (W. C. Vinston)	325 Pacific St.	1949
Miramar Hotel	Wilshire Blvd. at Ocean Ave.	1949–1952

Notes

1. Michael Wallis, *The Mother Road* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1990), 27. The Bobby Troup song, the Route 66 television show (1960–1964, with Martin Milner and George Maharis), and Hollywood helped make Route 66 a popular venue for motorcycle rallies and antique car conventions, and it is also a popular destination for international tour groups. Route 66 museums are found in almost all of the eight states along the Route 66 right-of-way, and various curio shops—and sometimes entire towns—are devoted to celebrating the Route 66 experience.

2. Kathleen Franz, “African Americans Take to the Open Road,” in *Major Problems in American Popular Culture*, ed. Kathleen Franz and Susan Smulyan (Boston: Cengage Learning, 2011), 242. Cole, along with many other black entertainers, traveled Route 66 during the late 1940s, 1950s, and early 1960s. By comparison Marguerite S. Shaffer stated that early automobile travelers were “a relatively homogeneous community of native-born, upper- and middle-class, urban, white Americans.” See Marguerite S. Shaffer, *See America First: Tourism and National Identity, 1880–1940* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001), 233.

3. Mark Foster, "In the Face of 'Jim Crow': Prosperous Blacks and Vacations, Travel and Outdoor Leisure, 1890–1945," *Journal of Negro History* 84 (spring 1999): 130–49; and Cotten Seiler, *Republic of Drivers: A Cultural History of Automobility in America* (Chicago Ill: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 108–28.

4. U.S. census statistics for 1930 reveal that blacks comprised 9.65 percent of the U.S. population nationwide. West of the Mississippi River (including Minnesota and Louisiana), however, blacks accounted for just 7.4 percent of the population. By 1950 African Americans nationwide comprised 9.94 percent of the U.S. population, but in states west of the Mississippi, blacks totaled only 7.21 percent of the population. Approximately 23 percent of all African Americans lived in states west of the Mississippi River in both 1930 and in 1950. Blacks were even more underrepresented west of the Great Plains. In 1930 blacks in the three Pacific states represented just 1.1 percent of the total population, while blacks in the eight mountain states represented just 0.82 percent of the total population. By 1950 African Americans in the Pacific states had risen to 3.48 percent of the total population, while blacks in the mountain states comprised 1.31 percent of the total population. See Campbell Gibson and Kay Jung, *Historical Census Statistics on Population Totals by Race, 1790 to 1990, and by Hispanic Origin, 1970 to 1990, for the United States, Regions, Divisions, and States* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Census Bureau Population Division, 2002), tables 5, 9, 12, 13, and 14, accessed 22 April 2015, http://mapmaker.rutgers.edu/REFERENCE/Hist_Pop_stats.pdf.

5. See, for example, Greg Gross, "The Green Book," *I'm Black and I Travel!* (blog), 28 August 2010, <http://imblacknittravel.com/green-book>; Alison J. Stein, "The Negro Motorists Green Book: Traveling in the Segregated South," *Perceptive Travel* (blog), 16 February 2010, <http://perceptivetravel.com/blog/2010/02/16/the-negro-motorists-green-book/>; Celia McGee, "The Open Road Wasn't Quite Open to All," *New York Times*, 22 August 2010; Maria Goodavage, "'Green Book' Helped Keep African Americans Safe on the Road," *Independent Lens Blog*, 10 January 2013, <http://www.pbs.org/independentlens/blog/>; and K Menick, "The Green Book," *Schomburg Treasures* (blog), 24 March 2015, <http://www.nypl.org/blog/2015/03/24/schomburg-treasures-green-book>.

6. See Isabel Wilkerson, *The Warmth of Many Suns: The Epic Story of America's Great Migration* (New York: Vintage, 2011), 8–11.

7. Key books focusing on the Great Migration and its causes include Neil R. McMillen, *Dark Journey: Black Mississippians in the Age of Jim Crow* (Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1990); John Dollard, *Caste and Class in a Southern Town* (1937; repr., Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988); James N. Gregory, *The Southern Diaspora: How the Great Migration of Black and White Southerners Transformed America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005); and Stewart E. Tolnay, *The Bottom Rung: African American Family Life on Southern Farms* (Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1999).

8. James W. Loewen, *Sundown Towns: A Hidden Dimension of American Racism* (New York: New Press, 2005). Loewen elaborated on the "sundown town" concept in: James W. Loewen, "Enforcing Brown in Sundown Towns," in *Remembering Brown at Fifty: The University of Illinois Commemorates Brown v. Board of Education*, ed. Orville Vernon Burton and David O'Brien (Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2009); James W. Loewen, "Sundown Towns," *Poverty & Race* [Poverty and Race Research Action Council] 14 (November–December 2005): 1–2, 6; and James W. Loewen, "Sundown Towns," in

Poverty and Race in America: The Emerging Agendas, ed. Chester Hartman (Lexington, Ky.: D. C. Heath, 2006).

9. Loewen, *Sundown Towns*, 3–23. See also Sidney Haman, “Get Out Before Sundown!” *The Nation*, 10 November 1951, 2.

10. Kansas has just 13 miles of Route 66 mileage (with Baxter Springs being the only town of particular demographic consequence), so it does not appear in table 1. In 1930 the percentage of sundown towns, by state, varied from 23 percent (in Missouri) to 80 percent (in Arizona). In 1950 the percentage of sundown towns varied from 27 percent (in Oklahoma) to 43 percent (in Missouri). U.S. Census Bureau, *U.S. Census of Population and Housing, 1930*, vol. 3 (Washington D.C.: GPO, 1932), state tables 13, 15, 16, 21, and 22; U.S. Census Bureau, *U.S. Census of Population, 1950*, vol. 2 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1953) state tables 6, 14, 34, 38, 40, and 42.

11. Encyclopedia of Chicago, “Civil Rights Movements,” by James Ralph, accessed 22 April 2015, <http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/293.html>.

12. Ralph, “Civil Rights Movements,” accessed 22 April 2015, <http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/293.html>.

13. Mildred Pratt, “Turning Points in African American History in Bloomington-Normal, Illinois,” Illinois Periodicals Online (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Libraries, 2003), accessed 22 April 2015, <http://www.lib.niu.edu/1999/ih719930.html>.

14. According to the census of 1930, six of the ten downstate counties had sundown towns. By 1950 only four counties did. U.S. Census Bureau, *U.S. Census of Population and Housing, 1930*, state tables 13, 15, 16, 21, and 22; U.S. Census Bureau, *U.S. Census of Population and Housing, 1950*, state tables 6, 14, 34, 38, 40, and 42.

15. *Chicago Daily Defender*, 14 March 1962.

16. *Chicago Daily Defender*, 2 January 1964.

17. Gary Gene Fuenfhausen, “Missouri’s Little Dixie Heritage Foundation,” accessed 30 April 2015, https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?id=165366320177877&story_fbid=364978153558951.

18. Smith, “African American Experience.”

19. Fuenfhausen, “Missouri’s Little Dixie Heritage Foundation.” A longtime black Joplin resident noted that during the mid-1950s the local schools desegregated, but there is no evidence that local hotels or restaurants did the same. See “90-Year-Old Resident Who Remembers Past Racism Wants to See President,” *Joplin (Mo.) Globe*, 2 May 2012, accessed 22 April 2015, <http://www.joplinglobe.com/topstories/x1585739818/90-year-old-resident-who-remembers-past-racism-wants-to-see-president/print>.

20. Ronald Walters, “The Great Plains Sit-In Movement, 1958–1960,” in *African Americans on the Great Plains: An Anthology*, ed. Bruce Glasrud and Charles Braithwaite (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 302–19; and “Clara Luper Changed Oklahoma Policy’s [sic],” African American Registry: A Non-Profit Education Organization, accessed 30 April 2015, http://www.aaregistry.org/historic_events/view/clara-luper-changed-oklahoma-policys.

21. Benjamin S. Roberts, interview transcript, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, accessed 30 April 2015, <http://www.okhistory.org/kids/cractivity1>; and “Marques Haynes Gave Civil Rights Movement a Dunk Shot,” *Willimantic (Conn.) Chronicle*, 7 December 1992, <http://www.crmvet.org/vet/rusellj.htm>.

22. W. Marvin Dulaney, "African Americans," *Handbook of Texas Online* (Denton: Texas State Historical Association, 2013), <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/pkaan>; and "Local Woman Remembers Amarillo During Civil Rights Movement," 28 August 2013, accessed 22 April 2015, <http://www.newschannel10.com/story/23284017/amarillo-woman-remembers-civil-rights-movement>.

23. Gibson and Jung, *Historical Census Statistics*, tables 28, 31, 40, 51, and 58. In both the 1930 and 1950 censuses, Texas had the highest proportion of blacks in its population (14.7 percent and 12.7 percent, respectively), while Kansas had the lowest black representation (3.5 percent and 4.5 percent, respectively).

24. Gibson and Jung, *Historical Census Statistics*, table 46. As previously noted, the low percentage of blacks among the population was characteristic of the eight mountain states as defined by the U.S. Census; in 1930, blacks comprised 0.82 percent of the total population in these states, while in 1950, they numbered 1.31 percent of the total population.

25. Adelina Ortiz de Hill describes the polarized racial atmosphere in Tucumcari during the mid-twentieth century, but Isaac Collier, who grew up in Tucumcari during the 1940s and 1950s, recalls being welcomed at a variety of restaurants and drug stores. See Adelina Ortiz de Hill, *Sol, Sombra y la Tierra* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: Professional Press, 2004); and Isaac Collier, interview with author, 18 February 2015. For a first-person account of the struggles of African Americans in Hobbs, see Charles E. Becknell Sr., *Growing Up Black in New Mexico* (Albuquerque, N.Mex.: Jubilee Publications, 2003). Rita Powdrell noted that a black friend, after her wedding, had to spend the night at a motel in Santa Fe because the couple was refused service in Albuquerque. Powdrell, interview with author, 18 October 2013. Also see George M. Cooper, "The Modern Civil Rights Movement in New Mexico, 1955–1975," in *African American History in New Mexico: Portraits from Five Hundred Years*, ed. Bruce A. Glasrud, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2013), 207–8.

26. George Long, "How Albuquerque Got Its Civil Rights Ordinance," in *African American History in New Mexico*, ed. Glasrud, 166.

27. "The Civil Rights Era in Albuquerque," Office of Diversity and Human Rights, City of Albuquerque, accessed 22 April 2015, <http://www.cabq.gov/humanrights/public-information-and-education/diversity-booklets/black-heritage-in-new-mexico/the-civil-rights-era-in-albuquerque>; Long, "How Albuquerque Got Its Civil Rights Ordinance," 168–69; and Charles Mohr, "Proud of Commission," *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Tribune*, 15 February 1952.

28. Quintard Taylor, "African Americans in the Enchanted State: Black History in New Mexico, 1539–1990," in *History of Hope: The African American Experience in New Mexico*, ed. Thomas Lark (Albuquerque, N.Mex.: Albuquerque Museum, 1996), 7–8; and An Act Prohibiting Discrimination in Places of Public Accommodation, N.M. Stat. chap 192 (1955).

29. Long, "How Albuquerque Got Its Civil Rights Ordinance," 169.

30. "The Civil Rights Era in Albuquerque"; and Cooper, "Modern Civil Rights Movement in New Mexico," 207–9. Also in 1960, the town of Hobbs (in southeastern New Mexico) witnessed sit-ins and similar protests before the local lunch counters were integrated.

31. Gibson and Jung, *Historical Census Statistics*, table 17. Blacks constituted 2.5 percent of the Arizona population in 1930 and 3.5 percent of the population in 1950. Isabel Wilkerson chronicles the story of Robert Joseph Pershing Foster, a black doctor who, in 1953, drove westbound through the Phoenix area on U.S. 80 searching repeatedly, and

fruitlessly, for a motel with which he could do business. See Wilkerson, *Warmth of Other Suns*, 205–12.

32. John E. Crow, *Discrimination, Poverty, and the Negro: Arizona in the National Context*, Institute of Government Research, Arizona Government Studies Number 5 (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1968), 2; *Phoenix Arizona Republic*, 30 June 1964, 16; “The Struggle for Civil Rights,” The Arizona Collection, Arizona State University, accessed 22 April 2015, <http://www.azpbs.org/arizonastories/ppedetail.php?id=71>; and Elizabeth Finn, “The Struggle for Civil Rights in Arizona,” State Bar of Arizona, created July 1998, <http://www.myazbar.org/AZAttorney/Archives/July98/7-98a5.htm>. See also *The Nation*, 28 April 1951, 387; and “Arizona Progress,” *New Republic*, 13 August 1951: 6–7.

33. Jack Reid, “The ‘Great Migration’ in Northern Arizona: Southern Blacks Move to Flagstaff, 1940–1960,” *Journal of Arizona History* 54 (winter 2014): 469–98. See also the following transcribed oral interviews, all located at the Cline Library, Northern Arizona University in Flagstaff: Hazel Neal, Dr. Jose “Pepe” Villarino and Maxine Villarino, Irene Hernandez, Ollie Mae Cottrell, and Katherine Hickman. Thanks to R. Sean Evans, at the Cline Library’s historical archives, for providing these interview transcripts.

34. See Oral History Interview with Emily Garcia Alonzo, 29 October 1997, accessed 22 April 2015, <http://archive.library.nau.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/cpa/id/63133/rec/1>. See also African American Pioneers in Flagstaff Oral History Collection, 1998–2002, Northern Arizona University, accessed 3 June 2014, <http://www.azarchivesonline.org/xtf/view?docId=ead/nau/AfricanAmerican.xml>.

35. U.S. Census Bureau, *U.S. Census of Population and Housing, 1950*, Arizona tables 38, 40, and 42.

36. Census figures show that Los Angeles County had 1,817 blacks in 1890 and 6,323 in 1900. “Historical Census Records of Ethnic Groups in Los Angeles County, 1850 to 1960,” Los Angeles Almanac, accessed 22 April 2015, <http://www.laalmanac.com/population/po20.htm>.

37. An Act to Protect All Citizens in Their Civil and Legal Rights, Cal. Civ. Code chap. 108 (1897); Cal. Civ. Code chap. 210 (1919); and Cal. Civ. Code chap. 235 (1923). Marge Nichols, *The State of Black Los Angeles: Full Report* (Los Angeles: Urban League and United Way of Greater Los Angeles, July 2005), 11, accessed 22 April 2015, <http://big.assets.huffingtonpost.com/BH.pdf>.

38. Lawrence Brooks de Graaf, *Seeking El Dorado: African Americans in California* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001), 271, 298, 313; Jack D. Forbes, *Afro-Americans in the Far West: A Handbook for Educators* (Berkeley, Calif.: Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development, 1968), 35, 38; Douglas Flamming, *African Americans in the West* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC Clio, 2009), 191; and Josh Sides, *L.A. City Limits: African American Los Angeles from the Great Depression to the Present* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 11–15.

39. Gretchen Sullivan Sorin, “‘Keep Going’: African Americans on the Road in the Era of Jim Crow” (PhD diss., State University of New York at Albany, 2009), 85.

40. Moton quoted in Wilkerson, *Warmth of Other Suns*, 200–201. See also Sorin, “Keep Going,” 88, 98–99, 127.

41. Sorin, “Keep Going,” 20–23, 34; and Franz, “African Americans Take to the Open Road,” 242.

42. Foster, "In the Face of 'Jim Crow,'" 131; and Franz, "African Americans Take to the Open Road," 241.
43. Sorin, "Keep Going," 2, 18, 151.
44. *Hackley and Harrison's Hotel and Apartment Guide for Colored Travelers: Board, Rooms, Garage Accommodations, etc. in 300 cities in the United States and Canada* (Philadelphia: Hackley and Harrison, 1930); and Sorin, "Keep Going," 131, 152.
45. Sorin, "Keep Going," 133.
46. Victor H. Green, "The Negro Motorist Green Book," in *A Route 66 Companion*, ed. David King Dunaway (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2012), 66, 67; Victor H. Green, *The Negro Motorist Green-Book* (New York: Victor H. Green, 1936); Sorin, "Keep Going," 196; and Franz, "African Americans Take to the Open Road," 246. The *Green Book* for 1936 limited its listings to the New York area, but the following year the publication offered a nationwide directory. Beginning in 1952, this volume was called the *Negro Travelers' Green Book*, and in 1960 it was renamed the *Travelers' Green Book*. See also Rebecca Onion, "A Midcentury Travel Guide for African-American Drivers Navigating Jim Crow," *The Vault: Historical Treasures, Oddities, and Delights* (blog), *Slate*, 11 February 2013, http://www.slate.com/blogs/the_vault/2013/02/11/the_negro_motorist_green_book_the_mid_century_guide_for_african_american.html; and Sorin, "Keep Going," 11, 157, 181, 221.
47. Sorin, "Keep Going," 154–65, 181.
48. Wilkerson, *Warmth of Other Suns*, 203; and Sorin, "Keep Going," 94, 98.
49. Sorin, "Keep Going," 129, 136.
50. Irv Logan Jr., "Money Couldn't Buy," in *Birthplace of Route 66: Springfield, Mo.*, ed. C. H. Skip Curtis (Springfield, Mo.: Curtis Enterprises, 2001), 31.
51. Reid, "The 'Great Migration' in Northern Arizona," 480–81.
52. "The Negro Motorist Green Book" (1949), accessed 22 April 2015, http://www.autolife.umd.umich.edu/Race/R_Casestudy/Negro_motorist_green_bk.htm.
53. Sorin, "Keep Going," 81–82, 100, 128; Rita Powdrell, interview with author, 11 December 2013; and Gross, "The Green Book."
54. Tom Lark, interview with author, 10 October 2013.
55. Gross, "The Green Book."
56. Sorin, "Keep Going," 98.
57. Wilkerson, *Warmth of Other Suns*, 203.
58. Geoff Griffin, "Lost Legend," *Salt Lake City Utah Weekly*, 13 February 2014, 15.
59. Sorin, "Keep Going," 170; and Wilkerson, *Warmth of Other Suns*, 207–9.
60. See "Brown v. Board of Education — 1950s Segregation Map," National Park Service, 2 February 2005, accessed 17 August 2014, http://www.classbrain.com/artmonument/publish/brown_v_board_of_education_segregation_map.shtml; Alfred Edgar Smith, "Through the Windshield," *Opportunity* [Urban League Magazine] 11 (May 1933): 142–44, in *Major Problems in American Popular Culture*, 239; and Sorin, "Keep Going," 195.
61. Nat "King" Cole, while stopping in Springfield, Missouri, on his way to Los Angeles on Route 66, stayed at a black-run hostelry. See Logan, "Money Couldn't Buy," 32.
62. See Edmond Threatt, "Black on 66," in *A Route 66 Companion*, ed. David King Dunaway (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2012), 72–74.
63. Stephen Fried, "Every Business Needs Fred Harvey Fundamentals," accessed 22 April 2015, <http://www.stephenfried.com/blog/?p=847>; Richard Anthony Melzer, email to author, 29 April 2014; and Stephen Fried, email to the author, 1 May 2014. Reverend

Hamilton and his family drove west to Albuquerque in the 1920s. "Because of their color," the *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Journal* noted, "the Hamiltons could not stay [in] most places or eat in most restaurants, but [he] recalls that 'the Harvey Houses never discriminated,' and that for years after that, the Albuquerque resident 'always recommended the Harvey House where discrimination was not practiced.'" See *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Journal*, 8 February 1970.

64. Isaac Collier, telephone interview with author, 17 February 2015.

65. *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Tribune*, 16 August 1955, 21.

66. Brenda Dabney, interview with author, 24 January 2014; and Rita Powdrell, interview with author, 11 December 2013.

67. Martin Link, interview with author, 3 May 2014. According to two anonymous postings in James Loewen's online index of *Sundown Towns*, a Route 66 highway sign was posted on the outskirts of Kingman in the 1960s and 1970s telling blacks to leave town before sundown. See anonymous comments on Kingman, Ariz., in "Sundown Towns in the United States," accessed 22 April 2015, <http://sundown.afro.illinois.edu/sundown-townsshow.php?id=1717>. In a telephone interview on 20 June 2014 with the author, Kingman resident and author Jim Hinckley provided additional examples of the town's racism during this period.

68. *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Journal*, 3 July 1964, 1; *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Tribune*, 3 July 1964, p. A-1, B-2; and Act of July 2, 1964, PL 88-352, 78 Stat. 241, sec. 201, at 242.

69. Once the court upheld the act, a number of business owners chose to close down rather than to cater the black trade. See "Lester Maddox and the Pickrick Restaurant," University of Georgia Freedom Film: Civil Rights in Georgia, accessed 22 April 2015, http://www.civilrights.uga.edu/cities/atlanta/pickrick_cafe.htm; and *Heart of Atlanta Motel v. U.S.*, in "Key Supreme Court Cases," Division for Public Education, American Bar Association, accessed 13 July 2014, http://www.americanbar.org/groups/public_education/initiatives_awards/students_in_action/atlanta.html.

70. See, for example, J. Freedom du Lac, "Guidebook That Aided Black Travelers During Segregation Reveals Vastly Different D.C.," *Washington Post*, 12 September 2010; Onion, "A Midcentury Travel Guide"; and Nsenga K. Burton, "How Did Blacks Travel During Segregation?" 9 July 2012, *The Root*, accessed 25 June 2014, http://www.theroot.com/articles/culture/2012/07/black_history_road_trip_negro_motorist_green_book_destinations.html.

71. "Historic Dates in San Bernardino and the Railroad, 1900-1919," San Bernardino History and Railroad Museum, accessed 22 April 2015, <http://sbdepotmuseum.square-space.com/1900-1919/>; and "Harvey House Ready for Customers, Looking SW," San Bernardino History and Railroad Museum, accessed 30 April 2015, <http://www.sbdepot-museum.com/photo-histories/santa-fe-depot-1917-1940/11100584>.

72. "Harvey House Railroad Depot, Barstow, California," National Park Service, accessed 22 April 2015, http://www.nps.gov/nr/travel/route66/harvey_house_rr_depot_barstow.html.

73. James Hinckley, "Legendary Route 66 Still Enjoyable," *Kingman (Ariz.) Daily Miner*, 7 March 1997, 8.

74. Deborah Slaney (Albuquerque Museum of History and Art), email to author, 19 September 2013.